

Appomattox Court House



Handbook 109

Appomattox Court House

**Appomattox Court House National
Historical Park, Virginia**

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About This Book

Appomattox Court House National Historical Park is the site of Robert E. Lee's surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia to Ulysses S. Grant, commander of U.S. forces. The tiny village in south central Virginia is restored to its 1865 appearance. Part 1 of this book puts the historic events into the context of a trip to the park. Part 2 traces the historic events of April 2-9, 1865. And Part 3 contains a tourist's guide to the park.

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**Welcome
to Appomattox**







Appomattox: A New Look

by Jay Luvaas/Photographs by William A. Bake

The plain, simple buildings of Appomattox Court House provided the backdrop for important historic events. From the attic of Clover Hill Tavern, you can see Meeks' Store and Woodson's Law Office

I'll not forget my first pilgrimage to Appomattox. Although it was the anniversary date of the surrender there were no visible signs of spring such as there had been on April 9, 1865. No buds or blossoms tinged the landscape, the grass had not yet turned spring green, and instead of the mild sun described in eyewitness accounts, the weather was cold, overcast, and gusty. Most of the time it was spitting snow.

Perhaps this is why our spirits were gloomy. We were a group of about 25, some of whom had tramped battlefields together for as many years. We came from all walks of life—corporation executives, garage mechanics, doctors, salesmen, and a few teachers, and we came from such diverse places as Sarasota, Ottawa, Durham, and northwest Pennsylvania. All the way from Petersburg, as we retraced the final marches and located the breastworks thrown up by the two armies, the group had been strangely silent. Even the more boisterous spirits among us seemed subdued. There was none of the usual chatter or good natured banter; the doctor who on similar marches would habitually sharpen his batting eye by knocking cans with his 'Tennessee Walking Stick' seemed absorbed in his own thoughts. Most of the men spoke in whispers the entire day. I think we were all relieved when we headed back to Petersburg.

No doubt the dull weather contributed to our mood, but obviously what bothered us most was the dawning realization that for the tired, bedraggled, hungry, and proud men of Lee's army, the war was over. We should have rejoiced but most of us had marched too long in those long-dead ranks not to share the agony and frustration of defeat. For over the years, as we refought one Civil War battle after another on location and with appropriate maps and volumes of the *Official Records* in hand, we had come to know what those officers and men had to endure and how much stamina, ingenuity, and courage it

took for them to fight for so long—and so successfully. As we had tried to sort out the thinking and behavior of the men on both sides, it was the Confederate strategy and troop handling that had impressed us the most, and this was true even of those who lived north of the Mason and Dixon line, though I would never admit so much to my good North Carolina friends.

We all felt pretty much that Appomattox represented an end rather than a beginning. There would be no tomorrows for Lee's soldiers. It was over. The pain, suffering, and horrible cost were all in vain; the brilliant victories counted for nothing.

I was curious therefore to see whether these impressions would persist when I next had an excuse to visit Appomattox. On this occasion I went alone, with maps, books, and a little more time to poke around. Once again I followed in the footsteps of the armies as they marched and fought their way to Appomattox, but this time, deliberately, I focused my attention on the Union efforts. Viewed in this light, the Appomattox campaign emerges not so much as a retreat to a surrender site as an energetic and well-directed pursuit of a formidable army. "Push around the enemy, if you can, and get on to his right rear," Grant had instructed Sheridan at the outset of the campaign. "I mean to end the business here." The response from his fiery cavalry commander was characteristic: "I tell you, I'm ready to strike out tomorrow and go to smashing things." Grant meanwhile had discussed with President Lincoln, who was then visiting headquarters at City Point, the terms that should be given to Lee on surrender, and he had briefed his staff on his intentions and what he expected of each corps in different circumstances. There was a new, aggressive spirit in the Army of the Potomac reminiscent of the single eye and driving energy of Lee and Jackson in earlier days.

I began my journey to Appomattox at Petersburg. Driving along the Union siege lines I proceeded to Hatcher's Run and Five Forks. "Our way led through bogs, tangled woods and thickets of pine, interspersed with open spaces here and there," a Union general had recorded in his after-action report, and the country today is still grubby and lacking in feature. Remembering that the maps available in

Walking about Appomattox Court House today is like stepping back in time. The town, restored by the National Park Service, is not much different than it was in the 1860s. What's missing to make the picture complete are a few buildings and fences. Tourists have replaced the residents, and a feeling of serenity still pervades the community.



1865 gave no topography except for the main streams and roads and did not always distinguish forest, clearings, or swamps, I wondered how the blue columns had found their way; it is difficult even with modern road maps.

Eventually I reached Five Forks, a vital strategic point that blocked Sheridan's further advance to the Southside Railroad a short distance beyond. If the railroad line were captured or destroyed Lee would have to evacuate and either move west, in the direction of Lynchburg, or south into North Carolina to join the remnants of Joseph E. Johnston's command.

There is not much to be seen at Five Forks beyond the Confederate breastworks, complete with unusual traverses of the type found also near the Bloody Angle at Spotsylvania. Yet, here on April 1, 1865, Sheridan's cavalry aided by the Union Fifth Corps overwhelmed a Confederate force one-third as large, thus opening the way to the Southside and also exposing the extreme right of the Confederate works at Hatcher's Run. This was followed the next day by what General Meade considered to be "the decisive moment of the campaign," when the Sixth Corps smashed through the Confederate lines opposite Fort Fisher, south and a little west of Petersburg. The Sixth Corps penetrated all the way to the Appomattox River and then swung left against Confederate forces in the vicinity of Hatcher's Run. The Twenty-Fourth Corps passed through the breach and then moved to the right in the direction of Petersburg, capturing several Confederate lines and finally crowning the day with a successful assault on Fort Gregg.

That night Lee pulled his remaining troops out of the Petersburg lines to join the rest of his army as it trudged by prearranged routes to Amelia Court House, where he hoped to concentrate and find the supplies desperately needed by his dwindling command.

Strictly speaking Grant did not pursue Lee; to follow the retreating Confederates would only drive them into the mountains, where they could prolong the war for months, or enable them to unite with Johnston's army in North Carolina where they might fall upon Sherman. But in either case he was determined to intercept the Confederates. As one of his

We tend to think that the proliferation of manufactured articles is a 20th-century phenomenon. This shelf (right) in Meeks' Store shows a wide selection of medicines and goods available to the citizens of 19th century Appomattox Court House.

The store was also the post office, and just as they do today, people looked forward to getting the latest magazines and newspapers in their boxes and to chatting with their neighbors when they went to Meeks' Store to pick up their mail.



chief subordinate generals put it, "the whole army was inspired with but one determination—to hunt the rebels down and whip them into surrender."

Driving along these country roads, where the terrain is still heavily wooded and often swampy, I marveled at the way in which these columns remained in contact with each other, spread as they were over a great distance. Did the troops have a clear idea what was happening? Much was demanded of them, for the roads were bad and the supply trains wallowed way behind. For the first time I realized that the Union soldiers also were hungry and short of rations, and while a more buoyant mood perhaps took some of the weight out of their haversacks, they too were pushed to the limits of endurance.

On the evening of April 4, Sheridan reached the Danville railroad at Jetersville, where he learned that Lee's army was at Amelia Court House just east of there. His men quickly constructed a formidable line of breastworks, part of which remain, still impressive.

While Sheridan and Meade awaited battle, Lee discovered that he had no time to wait for his rations. The supplies which supposedly had been ordered to be sent to Amelia Court House from Danville had not arrived and the route was now blocked by three Union corps. Amelia today still possesses much of the charm that it held for a Union officer who visited it a few months after the war:

. . . of the sleepy old Virginia type, its houses unpretentious and its streets unpaved, varying kinds of paling and board fences enclose the door yards, some of which are enlivened by clumps of flowers and bending rose bushes in bloom, and now and then a sweetly breathing honeysuckle clammers affectionately over a porch window.

But Lee's soldiers probably were not charmed by this old shire town.

It was a drizzly, dismal day as the "wet, tired and famishing troops" arrived only to learn that the promised rations were not at hand. The next morning an unusually large number of troops did not respond at roll call and a Confederate cavalryman recorded: "I beheld the first signs of dissolution of that grand army which had endured every hardship of march



Spring is a gentle time of year in central Virginia with the scent of blooms on soft warm breezes and the return of a bright green color to the ivy.

Stone, wood, and brick are all locally available materials. Used in the Kelly House, pages 16–17, they have created an interesting blend of textures and colors.



and camp with unshaken fortitude, when looking over the hills I saw swarms of stragglers moving in every direction.” “Our army is ruined, I fear,” wrote another, and when his letter was captured and delivered to Sheridan, the Union commander renewed his exertions.

After a demonstration in the direction of Jetersville Lee slipped away to the west, with Sheridan’s cavalry moving cross-country on a parallel line of march. The terrain here is more broken and begins to lift and roll as one approaches the mountains—“a great improvement,” Colonel Lyman reported from Meade’s headquarters, “full of hills, not high but steep, with a nice brook in every hollow.”

At one of these brooks called Saylor’s Creek, the Union advance caught up with the Confederate rear. The battlefield is much as it was then, a picturesque site where one can easily reconstruct mentally what happened. The Hillsman house, where the Union artillery beat back a determined but ill-advised counterattack by the Confederates, still stands, and from the modest parking area on the Confederate side of the creek it is easy to see how the slight rise in the false crest of the hill could give shelter from the shells of the Union guns.

For the Confederates the day was a disaster. Seven to eight thousand soldiers and eight generals had been captured, the staff organization had broken down, and serious morale problems had arisen in the ranks. From a distant vantage point Lee, seeing the remnants of two corps fleeing across the fields, was heard to exclaim: “My God, has the army been dissolved?” On the other side of the hill Sheridan wrote Grant: “If the thing is pressed, I think that Lee will surrender.” The message was forwarded to Lincoln, who was still at City Point waiting impatiently for news, and back came the laconic reply: “Let the thing be pressed.”

Lee ordered the remaining half of his army to cross the Appomattox. Longstreet’s men crossed at Farmville where they were issued their first rations in five days. But even as they entered Farmville the Army of the James was upon their flank and rear, while to the east the Second Corps poured across the spectacular High Bridge spanning the Appomattox. This line of advance threatened Lee’s only route of retreat. With no time to waste, the trains of supplies











The Clover Hill Tavern, pages 18–19, welcomes today's tourists as it once sheltered weary travelers on their journeys. Inside you can see the room where some of the paroles were printed and a handmade model of the village.

The town's residents gathered in the tavern (right) to trade gossip, read newspapers, and talk about important matters.

A facsimile of the order (below) stating the terms of the paroles given the Confederates sits near the printing press used to print them.



were sent westward by rail, and the weary army resumed its march along the Lynchburg road, hoping to catch up with its supplies at Appomattox station. But again Sheridan's cavalry leapfrogged ahead to block the way. Finally, even the most optimistic among the Confederates knew that there was "nothing left . . . to do but to go and see General Grant." For Lee it was like dying a thousand deaths.

Today Appomattox Court House is an unpretentious village on a windswept ridge, a quiet spot that maintains its importance with patient dignity. Unlike such well-worn tourist paths as Fredericksburg, Vicksburg, or Gettysburg, where history is a mantle proudly worn, Appomattox seems to make a determined effort to keep its importance in perspective. Thirteen of the buildings that existed in April 1865 remain in the village today, while nine other structures including the McLean house, where the surrender actually took place, have been reconstructed on the original sites. But for the absence of normal village sounds—men at work, children playing, an occasional wagon lumbering by, and the noise from chickens and livestock—it seems almost like a step back into the 19th-century. As one of my friends said, "there was a kind of isolated grandeur about the site, an extraordinary sort of remoteness, an existence outside time. This sense of being in an elevated, remote and even hidden place seemed to be utterly fitting: a right place to end the most American of wars, in a setting quintessentially American." This too sets it apart from other Civil War sites and even from places like Yorktown and Williamsburg.

Now I realize that it is the quiet that forces one to ponder the meaning of events here. I could almost see those historic figures in the McLean house as they agreed on the terms of surrender, and it occurred to me that had the generals been able to determine the course of reconstruction, the nation probably would have been better off. Lee resisted any temptation to disperse his army and resort to guerrilla warfare, which would have prolonged the agony of the war for months. His dignified acceptance of the surrender terms and his conduct after the war established the model for thousands of admirers to emulate. And Grant, who felt no glee "at the downfall of a foe who had fought so long and













In the quietness of an early spring day, Lee and Grant arrived at the McLean House, pages 22–23, and sat down in its comfortable parlor, pages 24–25, to bring an end to the war, a war in which Americans were killing Americans. Some dead from both sides were buried in the small cemetery at the west end of the village.

valiantly,” was as generous in victory as he had been persistent throughout the 1864–65 campaigns. Had the political leaders in Washington after Lincoln’s assassination, five days later, followed the restraint of the military leaders, the wounds caused by the war would have healed more quickly. It was another general, the notorious Sherman, who had insisted that “the legitimate object of war is a more perfect peace.” Political leaders, particularly in a democracy where they must respond to an aroused public opinion, are often inclined to be vindictive.

Among popular writers of history it has become fashionable to view the Civil War as a necessary “ordeal by fire,” a national catharsis out of which the United States emerged united, purified, and ready for its gigantic industrial growth and role as a world leader. This preposterous notion has always irritated me and never more so than when I stood that day at Appomattox pondering the future lives of the men who had been spared to resume the pursuits of peace. For such an interpretation must necessarily assume that the war was both inevitable and good, and that the peace that followed would be honorable. But the postwar years were among the most corrupt in American political history, the issues that brought on the war—slavery and states’ rights—continued to plague the nation in one form or another for a century, and strong feelings in some sections have lasted nearly as long.

No, the meaning of events at Appomattox gains nothing from a rationalization of a war responsible for the deaths of more than half a million Americans—a greater number than we lost in both World Wars. Significantly, most of the visitors are not even Civil War enthusiasts. They come to Appomattox because they intuitively realize that this was one of the great watersheds in American history, a place like Valley Forge and Yorktown that one simply must see because it is a part of the American heritage. It is a place to re-examine our past—and to learn something about ourselves as well.

The Surrender

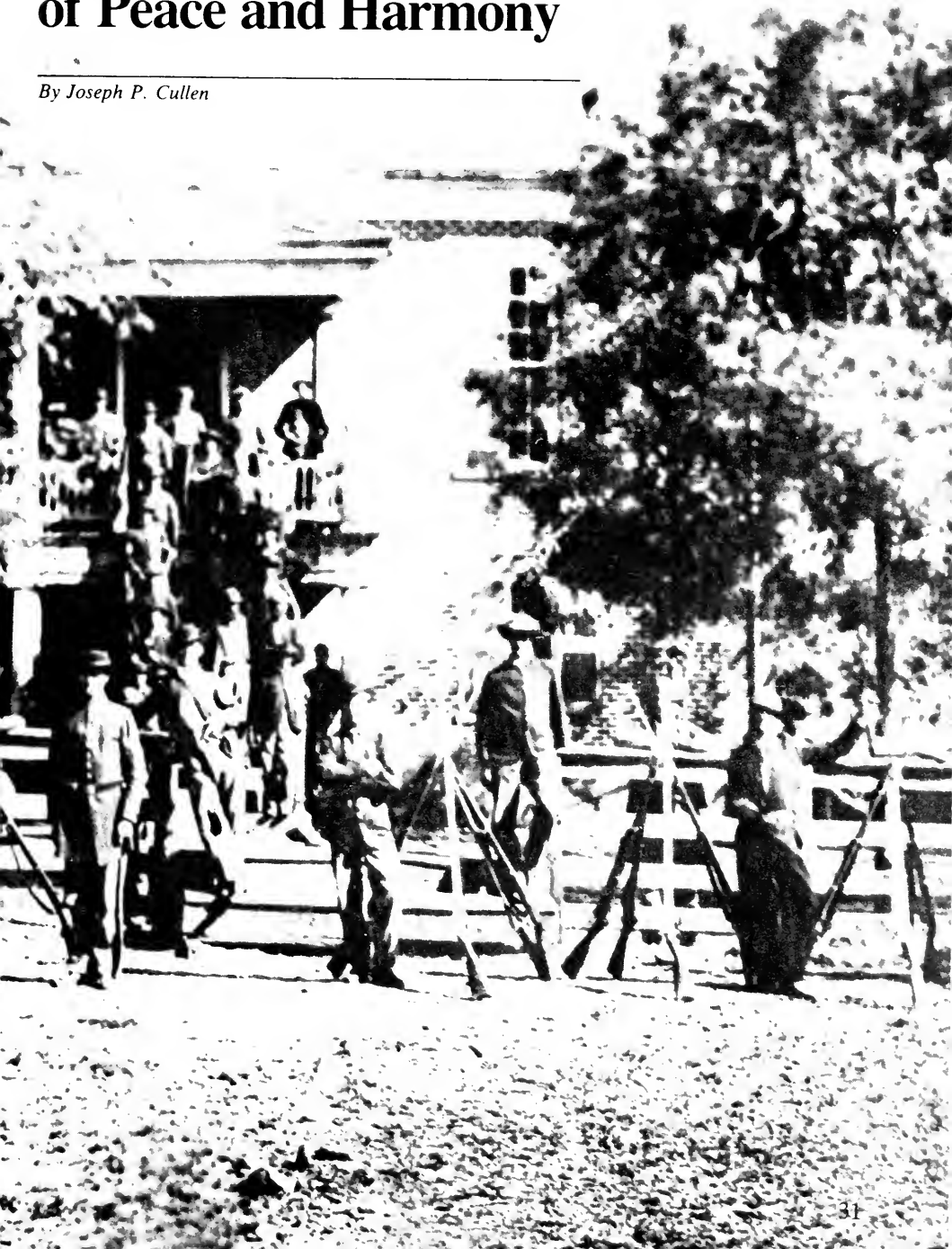




Victorious Union soldiers and a few local citizens stand in front of the courthouse just after the surrender.

The Reestablishment of Peace and Harmony

By Joseph P. Cullen



With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations.

Abraham Lincoln, *Second Inaugural*, 1865

The Civil War was a major turning point in American history and one of the most traumatic experiences this nation has ever faced. Whether or not this fratricidal strife was inevitable, the crisis that brought it about was, and the fact that it was not solved short of war is still our greatest national tragedy.

But the nation endured, and when Gen. Robert E. Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to Gen. Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, on April 9, 1865, signifying for all practical purposes the end of the war, the world learned that this modern democratic republic could survive violent internal dissension and rise above it to become a great nation, a nation that may well be, in President Lincoln's words, "the last best hope of earth."

The End Begins

The end was slow in coming, however. For almost ten months Grant's Federal forces had besieged Lee's Confederates in the city of Petersburg. Throughout the fall and winter of 1864–65 Grant had gradually cut off Lee's supply lines from the south. On April 1 the siege was finally broken when the Confederate right flank crumbled at Five Forks, and the next night Lee withdrew and headed west looking for supplies and hoping to hook up with Gen. Joseph E. Johnston's force retreating north through the Carolinas.

After four long years of death, disease, and destruction, the Civil War was finally coming to an end in an obscure little village in Virginia's hinterland, Ap-

pomattox Court House. The village was relatively new, having been authorized in 1845 by the State legislature as the seat for the new county of Appomattox. The courthouse was a dignified two-story brick structure surrounded by a grass square and board fence and encircled by the Richmond-Lynchburg stage road. Scattered about the courthouse were a handful of houses, a store, a jail, law offices, outbuildings, and the necessary tavern for weary travelers from Richmond, about 145 kilometers (90 miles) to the east, and Lynchburg, 35 kilometers (22 miles) to the west. The surrounding area was mostly farmland, a gently rolling country of open fields, soft ridges, and quiet woods.

The McLean Family

The most impressive home in the village, a large two-story brick house surrounded by a neat yard of shrubbery and flowers, was owned by Wilmer McLean. It was close to the courthouse and set back from the road. A brick walk led up to wide steps and a full-length porch across the front, shaded by locust trees. McLean, a short stout man, and his family were strangers to these parts, war refugees from northern Virginia actually. After the firing on Fort Sumter, South Carolina, in April 1861 that opened the war, the first major battle was fought near Manassas, Virginia, in July and the McLean home had been part of the battlefield. A year later a second battle was fought in the same area. This proved too much for McLean; he decided to move. An experienced merchant, he intended to trade in sugar, sure to be a scarce commodity in war time. He wanted a place where his family would be safe because of the long and frequent trips away from home that his trade would require, a place where there was no likelihood that either army would ever appear. So he purchased the Raine home, built in 1848, in Appomattox Court House, and in 1863 moved his family to this out-of-the-way hamlet in Central Virginia.

In the woods just northeast of Appomattox Court House on the cool Saturday night of April 8, 1865, a campfire burned low. The halfhearted flames from some burning rails cast weird shadows among the silent trees. The sounds of horses at their pickets rode on the thick night air.

The camp was spartan in character, hardly recognizable as that of Gen. Robert E. Lee, since 1862 commander of the Army of Northern Virginia and

The Virginia Campaign of 1864

As 1864 began neither North nor South controlled more or less territory in Virginia than it had held at the beginning of the war. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia still stood between Washington and Richmond. When Grant took command of all Union armies and joined Meade and his Army of the Potomac in the field he was determined to break this stalemate, and he reasoned that it could only be done by destroying the Confederate Army. So when Grant crossed the Rapidan River west of Fredericksburg on May 4, 1864, he was determined to attack Lee again and again until he either destroyed or captured the Confederates.

The first engagement took place in a tangled, densely overgrown stretch of country west of Fredericksburg known as the Wilderness. Grant had hoped to get his large army through the inhospitable countryside before clashing with Lee, but Lee knew that he had fewer troops and that they had best attack Grant where he would be unable to maneuver the Union force. For two days they fought, giving and gaining little ground. The armies then separated and Grant began to move. But instead of heading back across the Rapidan as every other Federal commander had done, Grant sidestepped to the left and headed southeast. He hoped to place the Union Army between Richmond and Lee. Lee would have no choice but to attack Grant to prevent his moving on Richmond, for the loss of the Confederacy's capital, though it was not the primary Union objective, would be a psycho-

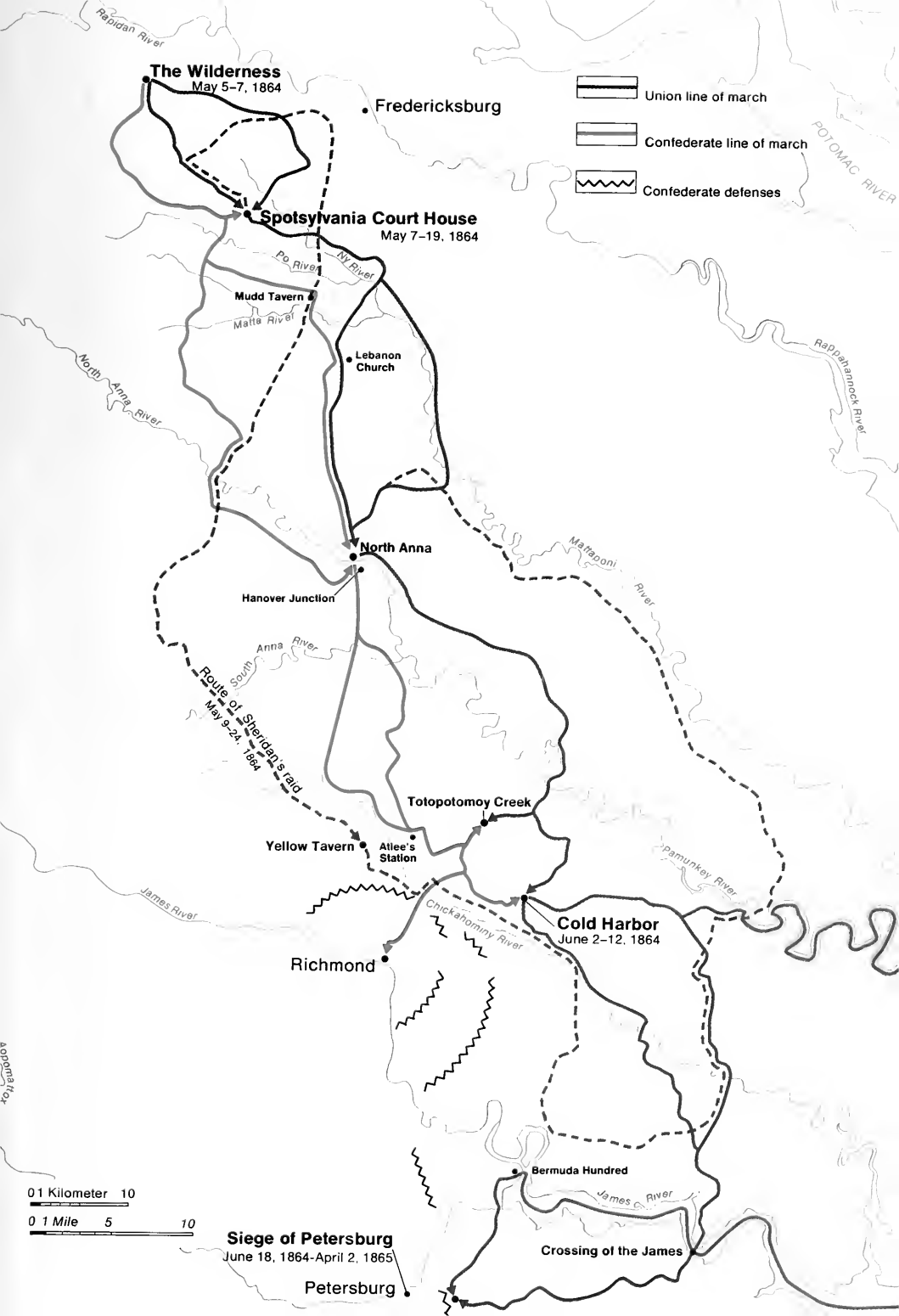
logical blow the Confederacy could ill survive.

That was the theory. The reality of the events worked out a little differently, for Lee realized what Grant was doing. The Confederates moved out, too, and managed to get ahead of the Federals and establish themselves at Spotsylvania Court House. They forced Grant to do the attacking, and the fighting continued for 12 days. On May 12 more than 12,000 men on both sides fell in especially fierce fighting. Yet it was all inconclusive; no one advanced and no one retreated. Grant just kept sidestepping to the southeast. On the 19th the armies disengaged and Grant began to follow a more southerly course while Lee tried to stay between him and Richmond.

As the two armies moved toward Richmond they almost daily would bump into each other and a small fight would flare up. Of these skirmishes, the clashes at North Anna and Totopotomoy Creek were the costliest in men and material. And again neither side gained any real advantage over the other.

On the second day of June, the two armies faced each other at Cold Harbor, a tiny crossroads that controlled an approach to Richmond. Bad communications delayed the Union attack for one day, giving the Confederates time to dig trenches that in the end could never be stormed. By the 12th Grant realized he could not get at Lee or Richmond, so he took the whole army across the James River and headed toward Peters-

burg. The defenses of Petersburg were slight, and it was one of the great missed chances of the Civil War that the town was not immediately taken. Union delays enabled the Confederates to come up in full force, and the siege of Petersburg, which would last until the end of March 1865, began. And once the withdrawal from Petersburg began, the Army of Northern Virginia had only nine days left until surrender at Appomattox Court House.



Union line of march



Confederate line of march



Confederate defenses

01 Kilometer 10

0 1 Mile 5 10

Siege of Petersburg

June 18, 1864-April 2, 1865

Petersburg

Last Council of War

recently appointed commander of all Confederate land forces. "There was no tent there," Gen. John Gordon remembered, "no table, no chairs, and no camp-stools. On blankets spread upon the ground or on saddles at the roots of trees, we sat around the great commander." The wagons with the camp equipment had been lost or captured.

Lee had called a council of war of his remaining top commanders to discuss what action should be taken to extricate what was left of the Army of Northern Virginia from its present perilous position, and they looked at him anxiously. In the flickering firelight he looked older than his 58 years, his full beard and hair completely gray, and his dark brown eyes sunk deep in their sockets. Short-legged but long of body, he was above average height and seemed taller in the saddle. Though racked with rheumatic pain, he held himself erect, his broad shoulders braced. He was wearing his usual uniform, a plain gray long coat with the three stars of his rank, always buttoned up, without gold lace or fancy buff facings, a soft dark hat, and high boots. Handsome and dignified in appearance, his mere presence commanded respect. He was a quiet, contemplative person. He had once stated that he was "always looking for something," and as a young officer in Texas had written: "I walk alone with my thoughts."

He had two priceless gifts for a military career—patience with the weaknesses of men and unforeseen circumstances, and a rare ability to understand and lead people. Neither jealous nor unduly ambitious, he imparted a strong sense of authority and serene calm; his self-control was awesome and contagious.

Now he talked quietly to the officers gathered around him, including his immediate staff, Generals John B. Gordon and James Longstreet, commanders of the only two infantry corps remaining; Gen. William Pendleton, who arrived late, his chief of artillery; and his nephew, Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, cavalry commander. His face showed the strains of fatigue as he explained that he had recently exchanged letters with Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, commander of all Federal land forces, concerning the subject of surrender. The initiative had come from Grant, he was careful to explain, and he had requested only the terms upon which Grant would insist. Grant had replied that he would insist on only one condition:

“that the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms again against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged.”

While he talked the signs about them were ominous. The glow from thousands of Federal campfires was reflected in the night sky in an almost complete circle around them. The talk then evolved into a discussion of what options remained. Some suggested breaking up into guerrilla bands to continue the fight in the mountains; others wanted to try to break through the ring of blue-clad soldiers; a few suggested surrender.

Lee listened calmly to the flow of conversation, staring intently into the fire as the smoke curled gently upwards, silently moving the overhead foliage. Years ago he had once advised someone that he “considered the character of no man affected by a want of success, provided he has made an honest effort to succeed.” His eyes now had a sad, far-away look, as if he might be thinking of that philosophy. He knew it was the end; had probably known for some time, in fact, although he had kept those thoughts to himself.

It had become evident in Petersburg during the winter. In June 1864 when he had stopped the Federal drive on Richmond at Cold Harbor, Grant had bypassed Richmond, crossed the James River and moved against Petersburg, 37 kilometers (23 miles) to the south, a major Confederate transportation base. Lee had countered the move but in the process had become besieged in Petersburg for almost ten months where his troops had nearly starved and death, disease, and desertions had relentlessly reduced and demoralized the once proud Army of Northern Virginia. In Richmond he had pleaded with the Confederate Congress for supplies for his ragged men, but met with indifference. In a rare outburst of emotion he told his son, “I have been up to see the Congress and they do not seem to be able to do anything except to eat peanuts and chew tobacco, while my army is starving.” As early as February he had warned the government: “You must not be surprised if calamity befalls us.” And a disillusioned soldier had written, “There are a good many of us who believe this shooting match has been carried on long enough. A government that has run

The Options Still Open

out of rations can't expect to do much more fighting, and to keep on is reckless and wanton expenditure of human life. Our rations are all the way from a pint to a quart of cornmeal a day, and occasionally a piece of bacon large enough to grease your plate."

Battle of Five Forks

Taking advantage of superior numbers and supplies, Grant had gradually extended his forces around Petersburg until the thin gray line had finally broken on April 1 at Five Forks. In desperation Lee had abandoned Petersburg the next night, and marched westward thus forcing the evacuation of Richmond. His immediate objective was Amelia Court House, about 64 kilometers (40 miles) from Petersburg, where rations were supposed to be delivered. From there he had hoped to turn south and follow the Richmond and Danville Railroad to Danville and then link up with Gen. Joseph E. Johnston's Confederate force in North Carolina, hard pressed by Gen. William T. Sherman's Federal army.

After the long dreary months of siege warfare, the men had been glad to get out of the trenches. "Once more in the open field," Gen. A. L. Long noted, "they were invigorated with hope, and felt better able to cope with their powerful adversary." But to many it was already the end. "Soon as Richmond fell," one Virginian admitted, "I came home . . . I didn't wait for Lee's surrender. Thousands did the same. We knew that if Richmond fell, the war would be removed from Virginia, and we had no notion of going to fight in other states." There were other indications, too, of the coming dissolution of the Confederate force. "There were increased signs of demoralization and disintegration all along the roads," Dr. John H. Claiborne noted. "Soldiers whom I had known for steadiness and courage were straggling and sleeping, unarmed and apparently unconcerned. . . . Officers seemed to be doing the same thing."

Amelia Court House

Then disaster struck. Lee had reached Amelia Court House April 4 only to find ordnance supplies but no rations. And for once he had lost his self-control. "The failure of the supply of rations completely paralyzed him," John Esten Cooke, a novelist traveling with the army, noted. "An anxious and haggard expression came to his face." Through some bureaucratic blunder the desperately needed rations had not arrived. Realizing that Grant's forces

were following close behind and also racing along his flank trying to get ahead of him to cut off his retreat to the south, Lee still had to spend a whole day here foraging for subsistence for his horses and men. "The delay was fatal," he wrote later, "and could not be retrieved." Turning south he proceeded the next day to follow the railroad toward Danville only to discover the Federals in force just 11 kilometers (7 miles) down the road at the hamlet of Jetersville. Forced to turn west again, he headed toward Lynchburg, hoping to pick up supplies at Farmville on the Southside Railroad.

Starvation was now a real possibility. Some soldiers stole the corn intended for the horses. "It was parched in the coals, mixed with salt, stored in the pockets and eaten on the road. Chewing the corn was hard work. It made the jaws ache, and the gums so sore as to cause almost unendurable pain." And there was little time for rest if they were to keep ahead of the hard-driving enemy. "The march was almost continuous, day and night," Pvt. Carlton McCarthy remembered, "and it is with the greatest difficulty that a private in the ranks can recall with accuracy dates and places. Night was day—day was night. There was no stated time to sleep, eat or rest, and the events of morning became strangely intermingled with the events of evening."

Battle of Sayler's Creek

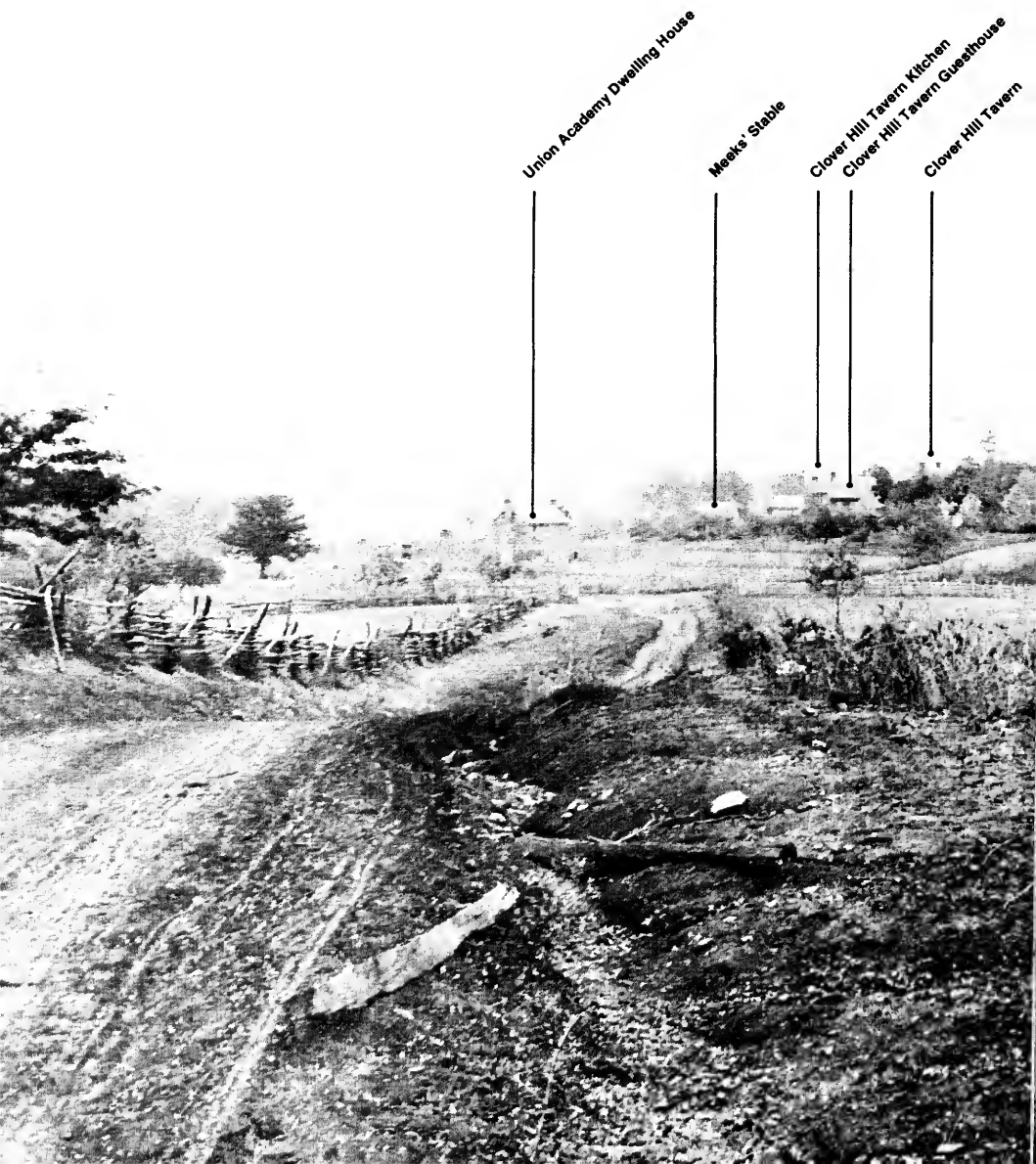
Then on April 6 the Federal advance force had caught up with a portion of the Confederate Army at Sayler's Creek, a tributary of the Appomattox River, inflicting more than 6,000 casualties and capturing eight Confederate generals, including Lee's son, Custis. Observing the action from a vantage point, Lee was heard to murmur in despair, "My God, has the army been dissolved." But the remnants continued on, reaching Farmville the next day, and for the first time since leaving Petersburg the remaining troops were issued rations. Time to enjoy them, however, was denied by the relentless foe. Lee had wanted to place the Appomattox River between himself and the Union Army. But the unsuccessful attempt at burning the bridges over the river had given him little advantage. After marching north for about eight kilometers (five miles), he swung west again. Meanwhile the Federals raced along the railroad route for the supplies at Appomattox Station.

Appomattox Court House, Virginia

The village of Appomattox Court House continued on in its quiet ways after the surrender. This photograph was taken in 1890 from close to the small Confederate cemetery west of the village. The

Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road is in the foreground. In just a few short years the village would change drastically, for in 1892 the courthouse burned and the next year the McLean House was disman-

tled. The town became even quieter after those two dramatic events.



Union Academy Dwelling House

Meeks Stable

Clover Hill Tavern Kitchen

Clover Hill Tavern Guesthouse

Clover Hill Tavern

Appomattox County Courthouse

McLean House

Isbell House





Library of Congress



Museum of the Confederacy

Around 1880 this is how Appomattox Court House looked from the east. The buildings on the right are William Rosser's house and shop, now gone.

What brought the Confederate and Union troops to Appomattox Court House was the Confederate plan to get supplies from the railroad passing through Appomattox Station. Timothy O'Sullivan, one of the leading 19th-century photographers, took this photograph of Appomattox Station a few days after the surrender.



Timothy O'Sullivan captured the McLean family on the front porch of their home a few days after the surrender.

One of the wonderful things about 19th-century photographers was that they tried to get as much into their picture as possible. The result is a remarkable record of the way things were. Here we have Clover Hill Tavern intact with its barroom to the right and the dining room wing to the left and a fair number of local citizens, all in their Sunday best.



The Confederates unsuccessfully tried to burn High Bridge, a Southside Railroad span across the Appomattox River near Sayler's Creek. Note the wooden bridge over the river in the foreground which was used while repairs were being made. This bridge still stands today but is inaccessible.

Lee's Dilemma

And so in the twilight of April 8 the battered remnants of the Army of Northern Virginia, hungry, exhausted, and dispirited, had come to Appomattox Court House. "The confusion exceeded anything I had ever witnessed in the army," wrote Lt. J. Caldwell of South Carolina. "Wagons and artillery were crowded on either side of the road, and struggling cavalry and infantry thronged about or wandered loosely over the fields. . . . Despite the disorganization of troops there was little movement or noise of any description. A horrible calm brooded over us" Another officer, Col. M. Thompson, noted that "The few men who still carried their muskets had hardly the appearance of soldiers—their clothes all tattered and covered with mud, their eyes sunken and lusterless, and their faces peaked and pinched from their ceaseless march through storm and sunshine without food or sleep."

Around the campfire that night Lee and his staff were well aware of the critical situation. The glow of the campfires to the southwest told them that the enemy now held Appomattox Station. The discussion lasted until near midnight. Refusing yet to yield to the inevitable, it was finally decided to make one last attempt in the morning to break through the force in front, despite the fact that Lee had probably less than 20,000 effective armed men and was faced by more than 60,000. If it was merely Federal cavalry, then Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry and Gordon's veteran infantrymen should be able to brush it aside so a perilous dash could be made toward Lynchburg. Longstreet would protect the rear. Lee acquiesced in this decision, not from any real hope of success, but rather to appease his officers, most of whom did not want to give up without one last effort.

As General Gordon rode back to his headquarters, he realized he had no orders as to how far he should go if he did succeed in breaking out in the morning. He sent a staff officer back to inquire. "General Gordon wants to know if you have any orders as to where he should halt tomorrow night?" Lee managed a wan smile. "Yes," he said, "Tell him that I'd be glad for him to halt just beyond the Tennessee line."

Grant's Situation

About 24 kilometers (15 miles) behind Lee's camp, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant was spending a restless night at his headquarters in an abandoned farmhouse

near the hamlet of Curdsville. While his staff slept on the floors, he tossed fitfully on a couch, one of the few pieces of furniture left in the house. Since the breakthrough at Petersburg, his headquarters had literally been "in the saddle" as he tried to keep up with his rapidly moving forces. A vexing headache, which had grown worse all day, made sleep almost impossible. "I spent the night," he wrote later, "in bathing my feet in hot water and mustard, and putting mustard plasters on my wrists and the back of my neck, hoping to be cured by morning."

Earlier he had taken supper at the nearby mess of Gen. George G. Meade, commander of the Army of the Potomac which was pressing the rearguard of the Army of Northern Virginia while Gen. Philip H. Sheridan's cavalry and Gen. Edward O. C. Ord's Army of the James raced along the flank trying to get ahead of the Confederates. After supper some of the younger officers amused themselves at an old piano. Despite the headache Grant said nothing. "To show how really amiable he is," Col. Theodore Lyman of Meade's staff wrote, "he let the officers drum on the family piano a long while before he would even hint he didn't like it." A dispatch from Sheridan informed him that Gen. George A. Custer's cavalry division was at Appomattox Station and had captured most of the Confederate rations. "If General Gibbon and the 5th Corps can get up tonight," wrote Sheridan, "we will perhaps finish the job in the morning."

In a few days Grant would celebrate his 43rd birthday. For the past year, as general-in-chief of all the armies of the United States, he had led 21 corps and 18 military departments, a total of more than 500,000 men. His philosophy of war was uncomplicated. "The art of war is simple enough," he once stated. "Find out where your enemy is. Get at him as soon as you can. Strike at him as hard as you can, and keep moving on." A Midwesterner from Ohio, he was generally looked down on by the more polished Eastern officers who regarded his theory of warfare as too crude and simplistic. Confederate General Longstreet, however, when he learned of Grant's appointment, had warned his fellow officers: "That man will fight us every day and every hour till the end of the war."

Slightly taller than medium height, Grant was not

Grant's Background

impressive physically. Round-shouldered with a slovenly posture, chestnut-brown hair and beard, his favorite dress was a private soldier's uniform, seldom buttoned up, with the three stars denoting his rank stitched on the shoulders. "He does not march, nor quite walk," an officer observed, "but pitches along as if the next step would bring him on his nose." A plain, unassuming man of few words, he once told a questioner, "This life is too brief to be frittered away with explanations." Although seemingly a detached, private person, Grant nevertheless was intense and a master of self-control. One observer saw in his face "deep thought; extreme determination; and great simplicity and calmness." Another noted that, "He habitually wears an expression as if he had determined to drive his head through a brick wall and was about to do it." General Meade wrote his wife about Grant: "He is no ordinary man."

From his earlier victories in the West and his unsympathetic treatment of "war-profit-seekers," speculators, and crooked contractors, Grant had made enemies. These people often had friends in high political office and they wrote them stating that Grant "can't organize, or control, or fight an army," that he was nothing but "a poor drunken imbecile," and that he was sure to "fail miserably, hopelessly, eternally." President Lincoln resisted the resultant political pressure to remove Grant from command and finally stopped all talk about it with his emotional remark, "I can't spare this man; he fights."

Later that night Grant's attempts at sleep were interrupted by Gen. John Rawlins, his chief-of-staff, with a second letter from Lee. While not yet ready to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia, Lee wrote, he would be willing to meet with Grant to discuss the terms for the "restoration of peace." Grant was disappointed; he had been hoping for surrender. Rawlins was quick to remind him that he had no authority to discuss peace terms. The President had specifically instructed him to talk only of military affairs and not "to decide, discuss, or confer upon any political question." He could, however, set the terms for Lee's surrender and Lincoln's only suggestion had been that the men be allowed to return to their homes. Saying he would write Lee in the morning that he had only the authority to accept

Lincoln's Support

Lee Refuses to Surrender

surrender, not discuss peace terms, Grant, extremely tired, again tried to get some sleep on the rough sofa.

Outside in the fields and along the roads, Grant's soldiers were also trying to get some much-needed rest. One soldier believed they had "never endured such marching before." Another recalled that they had marched 68 kilometers (42 miles) from one sunrise to another. Many had not eaten in 24 hours. Not all were that rushed, of course, particularly the heavy artillery that had to move slower than the infantry or cavalry. And they found the time for some interesting activities. "Gardening was a favorite amusement as the army passed along," an artilleryman wrote, "for it frequently revealed stores of food and liquor hidden in the ground."

About ten kilometers (six miles) from Appomattox Station, the men of Gen. Joshua L. Chamberlain's 1st Brigade of the 1st Division, 5th Corps, had fallen out exhausted for a brief break in their hectic march. A college professor, Chamberlain had joined the 20th Maine Infantry as a lieutenant-colonel, fought in more than 20 engagements, and now was a general. He had been wounded six times and would be awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for gallantry at Gettysburg. He had barely closed his eyes when he was awakened by a courier with a message from Sheridan. Rising on an elbow and striking a match, he read with "smarting, streaming eyes" the brief note. "I have cut across the enemy at Appomattox Station, and captured three of his trains. If you can possibly push your infantry up here tonight, we will have great results in the morning." Shrugging off his fatigue and stiffness, Chamberlain quickly rode to the head of the column. "Now sounds the 'Forward' for the last time in our long-drawn strife," he wrote. "And they move—these men—sleepless, supperless, breakfastless, sorefooted, stiff-jointed, sense-benumbed, but with flushed faces pressing for the front."

Union Infantry Moves Up

Lee's camp was astir in the pre-dawn darkness of April 9. Some of the staff prepared a meager meal. "Somebody had a little corn-meal," Lee's aide, Charles Marshall wrote, "and somebody else had a tin can such as is used to hold hot water for shaving. A fire was kindled, and each man in his turn, according to rank and seniority, made a can of corn-

meal gruel, and was allowed to keep the can until the gruel became cool enough to drink." When Lee appeared he startled them. "He was dressed in a suit of new uniform, sword and sash, a handsomely embroidered belt, boots, and a pair of gold spurs." Seeing the surprise on their faces, Lee stated quietly, "I'll probably have to be General Grant's prisoner and I thought I must make my best appearance." Without touching the gruel, Lee mounted and rode towards the front.

For several hours Gordon's infantry had been marching past the camp. As the first gray streaks of dawn turned the landscape from brown to green and a heavy fog slowly lifted, they reached the village and turned into the open fields. In the village they saw the "whole cavalry force drawn up in mass, and the troopers apparently asleep mounted. The fields, gardens and streets of the village were strewn with troops, bivouacking in line of battle." But then the skirmishers went out and the troops moved forward, pushing the dismounted Federal cavalry back. For a brief moment the road to escape seemed to be open. Then a mass of blue-clad infantry appeared. "In a few minutes the tide turned; the incoming wave is at flood; the barrier recedes," General Chamberlain wrote. "Their last hope is gone. It is the end!"

Lee sent a staff officer to Gordon to ask if he could cut his way through the Federal force. Gordon replied, "Tell General Lee I have fought my corps to a frazzle, and I fear I can do nothing unless I am heavily supported by Longstreet's corps." But Longstreet's corps in the rear was being hard pressed by Meade and the rest of the Army of the Potomac. So when Lee received Gordon's message he said dejectedly, "Then there is nothing left me to do but to go and see General Grant and I would rather die a thousand deaths." Col. E. P. Alexander suggested that instead he "order the army to disperse, and, every man for himself, to take to the woods and make his way either to Johnston's army in Carolina, or to his home, taking his arms, and reporting to the governor of his State." But Lee would have none of that. He believed it was time now to heal the wounds, not open fresh ones. He patiently explained to those around him that if he ordered the "army to disperse, the men, going homeward, would be under no control, and moreover, would be without food." They

The Exit Blocked

Lee Rejects Guerrilla Warfare

were already demoralized, he continued, and so “would supply their wants by violence and plunder. They would soon become little better than bands of robbers. A state of society would result, through the South, from which it would require years to recover.” And as for himself, he said, “I am too old to go bushwhacking.” He realized that the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia would indeed be the end of the Confederacy, but he believed that that was now inevitable. “And, as Christian men, we have no right to choose a course from pride or personal feelings. We have simply to see what we can do best for our country and people.” Alexander later admitted that Lee “showed me the situation from a plane to which I had not risen, and when he finished speaking I had not a word to say.” And when Col. Walter Taylor protested that history would have nothing good to say about the surrender of an army in the field, Lee replied: “Yes, I know they will say hard things of us. They will not understand how we were overwhelmed by numbers. But that is not the question, Colonel: The question is, is it right to surrender this army. If it is right, then I will take all the responsibility.”

Lee Offers Surrender

Lee then called Colonel Marshall and dictated a letter to Grant. “General: I received your note this morning on the picket line, whither I had come to meet you and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposition of yesterday with reference to the surrender of this army. I now request an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose.”

Grant also was up early that Sunday morning. A staff officer found him at four o'clock outside walking up and down with his hands to his head in pain. The mustard plasters had done little good. After a quick breakfast at Meade's mess, he and his staff set off across the fields to get around the Confederate force in front and so reach Sheridan and Ord near Appomattox Court House.

The day was calm, an early spring day just nippy enough to remind one that winter had barely passed, yet warm enough as the morning wore on to warn of the coming of summer heat. The green buds on the trees and the bright new grass put the breath of seedtime in the air; the apple and peach trees pushed out their blossoms; the sap flowed warm in the lilac

and magnolia. The land spoke of rebirth—and peace.

Shortly before noon, after a long, rough ride “through fields and across farms; over hills, ravines and ‘turned out’ plantations; across muddy brooks and bogs,” they halted in a clearing to breathe the horses. A young officer from Meade’s staff came galloping up at full speed, his coal-black stallion white with foam, and delivered Lee’s note. Grant read it mechanically with no visible emotion. “There was no more expression in Grant’s countenance,” Sylvanus Cadwallader, correspondent for the *New York Herald*, noted, “than in a last year’s bird’s nest.” Grant then handed it to Rawlins and said softly, “You had better read it aloud General.” A blank silence fell on the group. Finally, one officer jumped up on a log, “waved his hat, and proposed three cheers. A feeble hurrah came from a few throats, when all broke down in tears, and but little was said for several minutes. All felt that the war was over.”

With Grant was his military secretary, Col. Ely Parker, a big round-faced, full-blooded Indian, formerly chief of the Iroquois Nation. Grant liked to kid him about an amusing incident that had occurred some months previous. It seems a civilian who had not seen Grant since he left the west came to headquarters and inquired: “Where’s the old man’s tent? I’d like to get a look at him; haven’t seen him for three years.” Rawlins, busy with paper work, jerked his thumb in the direction of Grant’s tent. “The man stepped over to the tent, looked in, and saw the swarthy features of Parker as he sat in the General’s chair. The visitor seemed a little puzzled, and as he walked away was heard to remark: ‘Yes, that’s him; but he’s got all-fired sunburnt since I last had a look at him.’”

Grant now dictated to Parker his reply, informing Lee that he would “push forward to the front for the purpose of meeting you. Notice sent on this road where you wish the interview to take place will meet me.” Col. Orville Babcock was sent galloping through the lines to find Lee. Then the group mounted and moved out. When a staff officer asked Grant how he felt now, Grant replied, “The pain in my head seemed to leave me the moment I got Lee’s letter.”

Babcock found Lee with members of his staff rest-

Robert E. Lee's sword was presented to him by an unknown admirer from Maryland, as an inscription on the sword itself testifies. Grant did not ask Lee to surrender the sword, and it is now in the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, Virginia.

Lee's Personal Struggle

ing on a blanket under an apple tree by the side of the road a short distance northeast of Appomattox Court House. After reading the note, Lee mounted Traveller, the big, handsome iron-gray horse with black points that had carried him safely through all the battles since 1862. Accompanied by Colonel Marshall, his orderly Sergeant G. W. Tucker, Babcock and an aide, Lee rode slowly toward the village. When the troops caught a glimpse of him a cheer went up, but on seeing the white flag it quickly changed to a forlorn moan. Col. William Owen remembered, "We had been thinking it might come to that, sooner or later, but when the shock came it was terrible. And was this to be the end of all our marching and fighting for the past four years? I could not keep back the tears that came to my eyes." A soldier remembered it "was a mental shock that I am unable to describe, just as if the world had suddenly come to an end."

The road crossed the Appomattox River, at that point no more than a gurgling creek, ascended a gentle slope, and took an easy curve into the village. After crossing the creek Lee halted and sent Marshall forward, accompanied by Tucker, to select a suitable place for his meeting with Grant. As he waited patiently, what must Lee have been thinking? A lifetime of military service was coming to an end. The son of Henry "Light-Horse Harry" Lee of Revolutionary War fame, he had graduated from the Military Academy at West Point in 1829. As a colonel in the Mexican War he had earned a brilliant reputation. From 1852 to 1855 he served as superintendent of the Military Academy, and later he accepted an assignment with the cavalry in Texas. While at home in Arlington, Virginia, on leave from his post in Texas, President Lincoln then offered him the command of the United States Army in the field, which he declined, stating "that though opposed to secession and deprecating war, I could take no part in an invasion of the Southern States." A few days later, after much mental anguish, he resigned his commission, telling of "the struggle it has cost me to separate myself from a service to which I have devoted the best years of my life, and all the ability I possessed." He concluded by stating, "save in the defense of my native State, I never desire again to draw my sword." Despite the fact that he opposed



secession and hated slavery—"In this enlightened age, there are few I believe, but what will acknowledge, that slavery as an institution is a moral and political evil in any country"—when Virginia seceded he could not answer, nor could anyone else answer to his satisfaction, his question: "how can I draw my sword against Virginia?" So his course was set and he cast his lot with the Confederacy, and now four years later he was coming to Appomattox Court House.

The first person Marshall met in the village was Wilmer McLean, home from the latest of his frequent trips. As it was Sunday the court house was locked, so Marshall asked McLean to show him a suitable place for the generals to meet. "He took me into a home that was all dilapidated and that had no furniture in it," Marshall wrote, so "I told him it would not do." Resigned to the inevitable, McLean then said, "Maybe my house will do." Marshall agreed that it would do just fine and sent the orderly back for Lee and Babcock. When they arrived they entered the house and sat down in the parlor on the left of the central hall, "and talked in the most friendly and affable way," waiting for Grant.

And so the war that began, in a sense, in McLean's front yard, was now about to come to an end in his front parlor.

By early afternoon Grant and his party were approaching the village. The reporter Cadwallader noted that, "the firing, which had been heavy through the early forenoon gradually died away, until it wholly ceased." As they came out on the open ground just south of Appomattox, both armies were in plain view. "The soldiers of each were in line of battle," the reporter wrote, "and ready to renew the contest on short notice. Officers were galloping in all directions, colors were flying, and it had more the appearance of a grand review than of two contending hosts." A closer view of the Confederates, however, revealed "dirty, tattered, ranks of soldiers, none of them well clad, and nearly all officers in fatigue dress."

Grant was immediately escorted to where Sheridan and Ord waited. He recalled later that "they were very much excited, and expressed their view that this was all a ruse employed to enable the Confederates to get away. They said they believed that

Personalities at Appomattox

Appomattox was not an end but a point in the lives of the men whose stories are told here and on the next few pages. The primary purpose of these accounts is to let you know what happened to them after the surrender. All but

five of these men were at Appomattox Court House. Jefferson Davis was in Danville, Virginia; Joseph Johnston, with whom Lee was hoping to rendezvous, was in North Carolina; George Washington Custis Lee had been captured

at Sayler's Creek; Abraham Lincoln was en route from City Point to Washington, D.C.; and William Sherman was pursuing Johnston in North Carolina.



Mathew Brady photographed Grant in camp at City Point, Virginia, in August 1864 just after the siege of Petersburg had begun.

Ulysses Simpson Grant was born April 27, 1822, in Point Pleasant, Ohio. He graduated 21st of 39 in the West Point class of 1843 and was the best horseman in his class. Almost immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, Grant found himself embroiled in the political storms that swirled around President Andrew Johnson, on one hand, and the Radical Republicans on the other. Gradually he found himself being drawn into the Radical camp. By early 1868 it was obvious that Grant would be the Republican Party's nominee for President. In the general election that fall Grant won handily. The next eight years in the White House were not easy ones for Grant. Critics charged that he appointed old Army cronies to offices for which they had no qualification. Fraud and scandals were commonplace during his administration. Yet Grant's tenure in office was not without merit. He calmed the passions that the impeachment of Johnson had aroused. The amicable settlement of the *Alabama* claims against Great Britain led to a new period of

harmony in Anglo-American relations. He brought the country through the Panic of 1873 when regional and factional tension could easily have been exacerbated. In May 1877, at the end of his second term, he sailed for Europe for a tour that lasted almost 2½ years. Returning to New York City, Grant became involved in some business ventures with people who took advantage of his prestige. In the hope that he could leave some money for his family, he turned to writing. It soon was discovered that he had throat cancer, and he finished his *Personal Memoirs* only days before he died at Mount McGregor, New York, on July 23, 1885.

Abraham Lincoln was born February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, later Larue County, Kentucky. As President he had to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion, attempt to neutralize the actions of members of Congress who tried to meddle with his programs, and deal with the men of his own Cabinet, many of whom believed they could run the country better than he. That Lincoln succeeded is evidence of his political acumen, shrewdness, tact, and great patience. His search for a general who would lead the

army to victory took almost three years. In appointing Grant to the command of the United States Armies, he had to conduct a long campaign over the objections of politicians who had other military favorites waiting in the wings. The great tragedy of Lincoln's assassination on April 14, 1865, is that if he had been able to carry out his plans for Reconstruction the wounds of the Civil War probably would have healed faster and cleaner.



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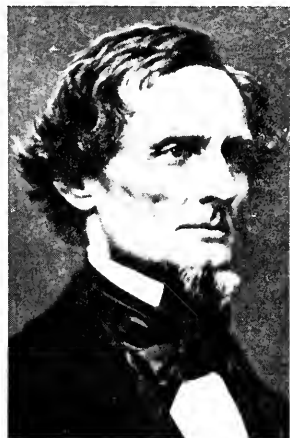
About a week after the surrender at Appomattox Court House Lee allowed Mathew Brady to take this picture in Richmond.

Robert Edward Lee was born January 19, 1807, in Westmoreland County, Virginia. He graduated second of 46 in the West Point class of 1829. After surrendering his army Lee returned to Richmond, where he stayed through the spring and summer, for his home, Arlington, had been confiscated. The trustees of Washington College in Lexington, Virginia, offered him the presidency of their school. He accepted and in the fall he and his family moved to Lexington. Lee used his position as an educator and his actions as a private citizen as examples that he wished his fellow Southerners to follow. He was a strong advocate of education and repeatedly told his countrymen that the South could only prosper if she were led by well-educated citizens. He refused to follow any suggestion that former Confederate leaders should leave the country and set up a government-in-exile. He obeyed the laws and urged everyone to do the same, arguing that Southerners' future lay in being good citizens of the United States. His voice was one of the greatest forces for

calming the feelings that the war had aroused both in the North and the South. Lee was indicted for treason but never tried. In the spring of 1870, Lee's health began to fail and it was suggested that he take a leisurely trip south in the hope of regaining his strength. In the company of his daughter Agnes, he toured Richmond, Raleigh, Columbia, Savannah, Jacksonville, Charleston, and Norfolk. The trip was strenuous and did little, if anything at all, to improve his health. He died October 12, 1870, in Lexington, Virginia. After his death Washington College was renamed Washington and Lee University.

Jefferson Davis was born June 3, 1808, in Todd County, Kentucky. He graduated from West Point in 1828 and was 23d in a class of 33. Davis was elected president of the Confederate States in October 1861. He faced a hapless situation as the symbol of central authority in a government committed to states' rights. He repeatedly clashed with the Confederate Congress about the conduct of the war, and his own feelings that he was an exceptional military strategist created friction with his generals. His relations

with Lee alone seem not to have been subjected to these stresses. After the fall of Richmond, Davis was captured at Irwinville, Georgia, and then imprisoned in Fort Monroe, Virginia. He was indicted for treason but never tried and was released May 14, 1867. The remaining years of his life were spent in several ill-advised business affairs and his writing of *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*. He refused to ask for a Federal pardon. He died in New Orleans, December 6, 1889.



Library of Congress

Louis Guillaume's painting altered the actual events for artistic considerations. Lee and Grant sat at separate tables, but Guillaume chose to sit them at one table so that they

would occupy the center of the composition. To the left of Lee and Grant stand Col. Charles Marshall and Col. Parker.



Besides Grant, Lee, Marshall,
and Parker the other men in
the room, from left to right
Lt. Col. Adam Badeau,
Lt. Col. Theodore Bowers,
Lt. Col. Horace Porter, Lt.

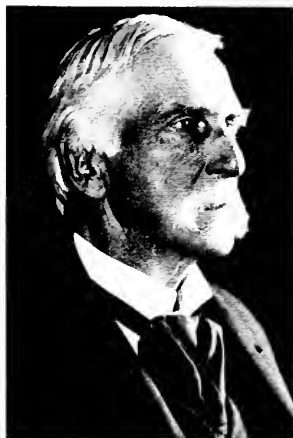
Col. Orville Babcock, Maj.
Gen. Philip Sheridan, Maj.
Gen. Edward Ord, Brig. Gen.
Frederick Dent, Maj. Gen.
Rufus Ingalls, Maj. Gen. Seth
Williams, Brig. Gen. John

Rawlins, and Maj. Gen. John
Barnard.



Northern Leaders

Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain was born September 8, 1828, in Brewer, Maine. He graduated from Bowdoin College in 1852. He left the Army in 1866 and was elected governor of Maine for one term. He was re-elected three times. He was president of Bowdoin College from 1871 to 1883. Later he became interested in railroad and industrial ventures in Florida. He was surveyor of the port of Portland, Maine, from 1900 until he died February 24, 1914. His books include *The Passing of the Armies*.



Library of Congress

George Armstrong Custer was born December 5, 1839, in New Rumley, Ohio. He graduated 34th in a class of 34 at West Point in 1861. He was one of the youngest generals in the Union Army. Sheridan, reporting on the surrender, wrote that he knew of "no one whose efforts have contributed more to this happy result than those of Custer." Custer is, however, known more for his role in the Indian Wars and the enduring controversy his actions inspired. After the Civil War ended, Custer went west and

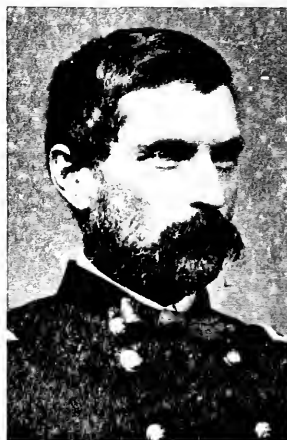
spent the remaining 11 years of his life there. In 1868 he won a decisive victory over Black Kettle and the Cheyennes. In 1874 he escorted 1,200 men into the Black Hills; the discovery of gold there precipitated the Sioux Wars. In an action of these wars, Custer and about 200 men were killed at the Little Bighorn on June 25, 1876. The news of the battle came just as the Nation began its Centennial celebrations.



Library of Congress

John Gibbon was born April 20, 1827, in Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania. He graduated 20th of 38 in the West Point class of 1847. His post-war years were spent mostly in the West. He led the expedition that buried the dead at the Little Bighorn in 1876. A year later he attacked Chief Joseph at Big Hole, Montana, and later became a close friend of the Nez Perce leader. In 1886-87 he maintained the peace in Seattle when anti-Chinese riots were expected. He died in Baltimore on February 6, 1896.

His Personal Recollections of the Civil War, which he wrote in 1885, were not published until 1928.



Library of Congress

George Gordon Meade was born December 31, 1815, in Cadiz, Spain, where his father was U.S. naval agent. Meade graduated 19th of 56 in the West Point class of 1835. In 1865 he was made commander of the Military Division of the Atlantic and shortly afterwards was given command of the Department of the East, both with headquarters in Philadelphia. In early January 1869 he was named commander of Military District 3, which comprised Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. Meade sought to admin-

ister fairly and justly the often harsh Reconstruction Acts during his 15 months of command. In March 1869 he returned to Philadelphia, still in the army, and served, additionally, as commissioner of Fairmont Park. His support for and work at the park helped make it a masterpiece. He died in Philadelphia November 6, 1872.



Library of Congress

Edward Otho Cresap Ord was born October 18, 1818, in Cumberland, Maryland. He graduated from West Point 17th in a class of 31 in 1839. After the war he remained in the Regular Army until his retirement in December 1880. On a business trip from New York to Vera Cruz in 1883 he contracted yellow fever. He was taken ashore at Havana, where he died on July 22, 1883.



Library of Congress

Ely Samuel Parker was born in Genesee County, New York, in 1828. As Grant's military secretary, he recopied Grant's terms in final form. When Grant was elected President, one of his first appointments was to make Parker, a sachem of the Iroquois tribe, commissioner of Indian affairs. Parker's changes and reforms, which aimed at giving greater justice to Indians, earned him many enemies. He was tried by a committee of the U.S. House of Representatives on a charge of defrauding the government. He

was cleared, but, exhausted by the ordeal, he resigned to take a position in Wall Street. He made a small fortune but lost all his money paying off an associate's default. He later worked for the New York City Police Department. He died in Fairfield, Connecticut, August 31, 1895.



Library of Congress

John Aaron Rawlins was born February 13, 1831. Throughout the Civil War he was Grant's chief of staff and a trusted and influential adviser. A continuing illness was diagnosed by the end of the war to be tuberculosis. For health reasons he accompanied an expedition that followed the proposed route of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1867. After Grant was elected President in 1868, he named Rawlins secretary of war. He died in Washington, D.C., September 6, 1869.



Library of Congress

Philip Henry Sheridan was born March 6, 1831, in Albany, New York. He graduated 34th of 52 in the West Point class of 1853. He commanded the Division of the Gulf immediately after the Civil War when the United States was seeking to force the French to withdraw their support from the government of Emperor Maximilian. Sheridan's aid to Mexicans opposing Maximilian and the French helped them overthrow their foreign emperor. In 1867 he became commander of Military District

5—Texas and Louisiana—where his administration was marked by a harsh application of the Reconstruction Acts. In 1870–71 he was an observer with the German armies during the Franco-Prussian War and witnessed the rout of the French forces at Sedan. In 1884 he became commander-in-chief of the Army, succeeding Sherman. He spent the last months of his life writing his *Personal Memoirs*. He died August 5, 1888, in Nonquitt, Massachusetts.



Library of Congress

William Tecumseh Sherman was born February 8, 1820, in Lancaster, Ohio. He graduated sixth of 42 in the West Point class of 1840. As commander of the Division of the Mississippi, his first post-war command, he rendered assistance to the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad. After Grant's election he became commander-in-chief of the Army. He retired from active service November 1, 1883, living first in St. Louis and then moving to New York City where he died February 14, 1891.



Library of Congress

Southern Leaders

Edward Porter Alexander was born May 26, 1835, in Washington, Georgia. He graduated third of 38 in the 1857 class at West Point. After the war he was professor of mathematics and civil and military engineering at the University of South Carolina, superintendent of the Columbia & Augusta Railroad, and president of the Savannah & Memphis Railroad. His writings include *Military Memoirs of a Confederate* (1907). He died in Savannah, Georgia, April 28, 1910.



Library of Congress

John Brown Gordon was born February 6, 1832, in Upson County, Georgia. When the fighting stopped at Appomattox Court House, he was 33 years old and a lieutenant general. He was a political natural and entered politics only to lose to the Republican candidate in the 1868 race for governor of Georgia. When Reconstruction ended in Georgia in 1872, he was sent to the U.S. Senate. He was re-elected six years later but resigned in 1880 to take a job with the Louisville & Nashville Railroad. In 1886 he re-

turned to politics, this time winning the statehouse. And when his term expired he returned to the Senate for one more term (1891-97). His memoirs, *Reminiscences of the Civil War* (1903), are noted for their honesty and fairness. Despite charges that he mixed politics and business to his benefit, Gordon was a great favorite of Georgians. He died in Miami, Florida, January 9, 1904.



Library of Congress

Joseph Eggleston Johnston was born February 3, 1807, in Prince Edward County, Virginia. He was 13th of 46 men in the West Point class of 1829. Johnston was leading the Confederate Army in North Carolina that Lee hoped to meet. Immediately after the war he moved to Savannah, Georgia, where he was involved in the insurance business. He was a supporter of Gov. Samuel Tilden in the presidential election of 1876. In 1877 he returned to Virginia and made his home in Richmond. The next year he

was elected to Congress as a Democrat; he served only one term. In 1885 President Grover Cleveland appointed him commissioner of railroads. He held this position until his death in Washington, D.C., on March 21, 1891.



Library of Congress

Fitzhugh Lee, a nephew of R. E. Lee, was born November 19, 1835, in Fairfax County, Virginia. He graduated 45th in the 49-member class of 1856 at West Point. He was commander of all cavalry in the Army of Northern Virginia when he surrendered at Farmville April 11, 1865. He returned to farming until he was elected governor of Virginia, serving from 1885 to 1889. In 1893 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the U.S. Senate. Three years later President Grover Cleveland appointed him consul

general at Havana. Lee gained great approval nationwide for his conduct of affairs during these difficult years. When war with Spain broke out he was commissioned a major general, but he saw no action. After the Spanish-American War he was named military governor of Havana. He died in Washington, D.C., on April 28, 1905.



Library of Congress

George Washington Custis Lee, R. E. Lee's eldest child, was born September 16, 1832, at Fort Monroe, Virginia. He graduated first in the 1854 class at West Point that contained 46 men. He was captured with his command at Saylor's Creek in 1865. In October of that year he became professor of civil and military engineering at Virginia Military Institute, a position he held until being appointed president, as his father's successor, of Washington and Lee University on February 1, 1871. He stayed at Washing-

ton and Lee until he retired on July 1, 1897. He gave the school several Custis family heirlooms and was generous with many other gifts as well. After his retirement he lived at Ravensworth, Fairfax County, Virginia, where he died February 18, 1913.



Library of Congress

Armistead Lindsay Long was born September 3, 1825, in Campbell County, Virginia. He graduated 17th of 44 in the West Point class of 1850. Upon returning to peacetime activities he became chief engineer of the James River and Kanawha Canal Company. He was forced to resign in 1870 because of blindness brought on by exposure he had suffered during the war years. President Grant, hearing of Long's disability, appointed his wife postmistress of Charlottesville, Virginia. Despite his handicap, Long

began work on his *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee, His Military and Personal History*. The book was published in 1886 and benefitted from Long's service as Lee's military secretary and his close personal association with the Confederate commander. Long died in Charlottesville on April 29, 1891.



Library of Congress

James Longstreet was born January 8, 1821, in Edgefield District, South Carolina. In the West Point class of 1842 he graduated 54th of 62. After the surrender, he became head of an insurance firm and a cotton factor in New Orleans. When he joined the Republican Party in 1869 he was socially ostracized and had to depend on Federal jobs for a living, becoming surveyor of customs at New Orleans, U.S. minister to Turkey, U.S. marshal for Georgia, and U.S. railroad commissioner. Claims made

in his memoirs, *From Manassas to Appomattox* (1896), aggravated feelings of unpopularity toward him in the South. He died January 2, 1904, in Gainesville, Georgia.



Library of Congress

William Nelson Pendleton was born December 26, 1809, in Richmond, Virginia. He graduated fifth of 42 in the 1830 class at West Point. He was ordained an Episcopal priest in 1838. From 1853 until his death, with the exception of his four years' service with the Army of Northern Virginia, Pendleton served as pastor of Grace Episcopal Church, Lexington, Virginia. After the war his parish was so poor it could not pay him for some time. His appearance in later years resembled Robert E. Lee's and the fact

that Lee lived in Lexington led to occasional confusion. Pendleton came from a distinguished family that included a member of the Continental Congress and a Signer of the Declaration of Independence and governor of Virginia. Pendleton died January 15, 1883.



Washington and Lee University

Walter Herron Taylor was born June 13, 1838, in Norfolk, Virginia. He attended Virginia Military Institute. Taylor was married the night the Confederate troops evacuated Petersburg, and at war's end, he and his bride returned to Norfolk where he started a hardware business. In 1877 he sold his concern and became president of Norfolk's Marine Bank. He was active in local affairs and represented Norfolk in the State Senate for one term. He died in Norfolk on March 1, 1916.



Library of Congress

These four items are news stories taken from the New York Herald for April 14, 1865. All four reporters were with the Union armies as they approached Appomattox Court House and saw various aspects of the surrender. Note how their stories vary on the same points. The last three are excerpts that pertain solely to the surrender.

THE SURRENDER

*Mr. S. Cadwallader's Despatch
Appomattox Court House,
April 9—6 p.m.*

The glorious consummation so long devoutly wished for has at length been attained. The constant and unparalleled marching and fighting of the last twelve days has culminated to-day in the surrender of General Robert E. Lee and his entire army to the victorious legions led on by General Grant.

The size of Lee's Army at the surrender

The remnant of his army is variously estimated at from twenty thousand to thirty thousand. My own opinion is that it will exceed the outside figure.

Its Condition

His trains have been terribly cut up and captured by us since the commencement of his retreat from Richmond. Besides these he has been compelled to abandon and destroy large numbers, until the remainder will fall below the usual allowance for such a force.

His artillery has been suffering the same depletion, and is cut down to a minimum with which an army of equal size ever moves.

The Correspondence Concerning the Surrender

A correspondence, looking to the surrender of Lee's army, commenced between himself and General Grant day before yesterday, as announced in my previous despatch. The

purport of General Lee's first note was to ascertain the best terms on which he could surrender his army. Gen. Grant is understood to have offered to parole the officers and men, and allow them to return to their homes until regularly exchanged. To this Gen. Lee seems to have demurred. He at least tried the dodge of replying to this communication by requesting a personal interview at a certain place, at ten o'clock A. M. to-day, to arrange "terms of peace." As this was changing the question at issue and under discussion, and one which Gen. Grant had neither the inclination or the authority to decide, he replied in a note which admitted of no misconstruction, and which virtually ended the negotiations. On receipt of this Gen. Lee at once despatched another requesting a personal interview for the object named in Gen. Grant's communication of yesterday—viz: the surrender of his entire army.

Where the Communications were received

General Grant and staff were at General Meade's headquarters last night, in rear of the Second Corps, where the flags of truce bearing the respective communications had been sent and received. Supposing all further negotiations referred to arbitrament of the sword, Gen. Grant breakfasted at five o'clock in the morning, and started immediately for the extreme left of our line, held by General Sheridan, in the vicinity of Appomattox Court House. Consequently when the communication was received it was forwarded by Major

Pease, of Gen. Meade's staff, who overtook General Grant about five miles from the Court House, between eleven and twelve o'clock.

The Place of Conference Appointed

A communication was immediately despatched by Lieutenant Colonel Babcock and Lieutenant Dunn, of General Grant's staff, to General Lee, appointing Appomattox Court House as the place of the meeting.

The Meeting of the Generals

General Lee was soon reached by flag of truce, and repaired to the house of Mr. Wilson (sic) McLean, one of the three remaining householders in the village. General Grant arrived about fifteen minutes later, and entered the parlor where General Lee was awaiting him. The meeting was very nearly a private one at the outset. After a few moments' conversation General Grant's staff officers were called in and formally presented. The conversation was sober and confined solely to business, excepting a few allusions to the past between Lee and General Seth Williams and perhaps one or two others.

The Terms Agreed Upon

The terms of surrender were soon agreed upon, reduced to writing and signed, after which Lee soon departed to within the lines of his own army.

Correspondence, proceedings, etc., relative to the surrender have already been published.

By the time the papers were drawn and signed it was too late to proceed to the formal ceremonies of the occasion, and further proceedings were postponed until to-morrow.

General Lee

General Lee was accompanied only by Colonel Marshall, formerly of Baltimore, at present aid-de-camp on his staff, and Orderly Johns, who has served him in that capacity for fourteen months. Lee looked very much jaded and worn, but, nevertheless, presented the same magnificent *physique* for which he has always been noted. He was neatly dressed in gray cloth, without embroidery or any insignia of rank, except three stars worn on the turned portion of his coat collar. His cheeks were very much bronzed by exposure, but still shown ruddy underneath all. He is growing quite bald, and wears one of the side locks of his hair thrown across the upper portion of his forehead, which is as white and as fair as a woman's. He stands fully six feet one inch in height, and weighs something over two hundred pounds, without being burdened with a pound of superfluous flesh. During the whole interview he was retired and dignified to a degree bordering on taciturnity, but was free from all exhibition of temper or mortification. His demeanor was that of a thoroughly possessed gentleman who had a very disagreeable duty to perform, but was determined to get through it as well and as soon as he could.

He rode an ordinary gray horse, with plain equipments similar to those of our cavalry officers, and his orderly stated that this was the only animal he had here.

He bivouaced last night near a place known as the "Stone Chimney," in a grove, and made his breakfast this morning on a "corn dodger." His troops are even worse off.

The Surrender a Surprise to His Officers

No one but a few of his officers suspected that he contemplated surrendering his army, until this morning.

*Mr. S. T. Bulkey's Despatches Headquarters Army of the Potomac
Near Appomattox Court House, April 9, 1865*

The Settlement . . .

General Lee was at the appointed place of meeting half an hour in advance of Gen. Grant. He was accompanied by his Adjutant General, Col. Marshall. Gen. Grant was accompanied by Generals Barnard, Williams, Rawlings and Ingalls, and Colonels Bowers, Babcock and Porter.

Drawing up the Terms

The terms were drawn up by Gen. Grant, written out by Col. Parker, and submitted to Gen. Lee for his approval. He suggested some slight alterations regarding officers' baggage, which were assented to. Col. Marshall made a new copy, which was signed. The terms are the same as first offered by General Grant.

A General Interview

General Grant then sent for the remainder of his staff, a general introduction and interview was had. General Lee conversed somewhat with General Seth Williams, who was an old friend, but was quite reserved and sad. He was dressed in full uniform, with an elegant sword, sash and gauntlets. General Grant was in full uniform, with the exception of his sword.

The News in the Army

When the news was received in the army they were wild with joy and excitement. General Meade was cheered

from one end of the line to the other.

*Mr. L. A. Hendrick's Despatch
Headquarters Fifth Army
Corps
Near Appomattox Court
House, April 9, 1865*

Arrival of Lieutenant General Grant

About two o'clock P.M. Lieut. General Grant arrived. The particulars of that interview only the participants know. The results are known, and they are all that could have been desired. At four P.M. announcement of the result of the interview was made known. There was the climax of human cheering. I will not describe it. It was cheers, not of exultation over a conquered enemy, but rejoicing at the probable close of war.

The Interval of Armistice

Such scenes as those presented to-day have never before been witnessed in this army, and never before has been such suspense and interest at stake. Our soldiers saw it, felt it, and looked it. Skirmish line confronted skirmish line, lines of battle confronted lines of battle, cannon confronted cannon. Highest hopes hung on the interviews between the opposing great commanders of our great armies. Peace, long coveted peace, might follow this interview. It might end in resumption of hostilities, in fiercest battle, in terrible carnage. If a strange spectacle was that of our general officers conferring with the rebel general officers, much stranger was the view of the two armies during the armistice. The two armies were plainly visible to one another. Ours lay on the east of hills from which the enemy

had been driven. The enemy skirted a strip of woods in rear of the town. Through an opening on the left and rear of the town could be seen his trains.

*Mr. John A. Brady's Despatch
Headquarters Army of the
James
Behind Richmond, Midnight
April 9, 1865*

The Conference Between Generals Grant and Lee

The final meeting between Generals Grant and Lee took place at the house of Mr. MacLane, at Appomattox. The meeting was eminently courteous on both sides. They had met to accomplish business, and they accomplished it in a straight-forward and soldier-like way. The minutes were drawn up on a small table, and immediately made out in proper form, and signed by the two generals on a marble topped centre table of somewhat antiquated fashion.

The Tables

The large centre table on which the paper was finally signed was purchased by General Ord for \$50. General Custer purchased the other table on which the minutes were made out for \$25. The only trophies left Mr. MacLane were the chairs occupied by the two generals and the room itself.

The Chairs

Numerous offers were made for the chairs, but Mr. MacLane steadily refused to part with them. Finally two cavalry officers, one of them a colonel, finding that they could not obtain the chairs by any other means, seized them by force and made off with them. They had endeavored

to make the owner take money for them, but he had flung the proffered greenbacks on the floor. After they had been gone some time a cavalry officer rode up to the house, called Mr. MacLane out, thrust a ten dollar note in his hand, and shouting, "this is for the colonel's chair," rode off in hot haste. General Ord and General Custer are both on the track of these gentlemen, and it is very probable that the chairs will be restored to their owner

Appomattox Court House

This town has now a place and name in history. Its situation is in a sort of valley, with rich slopes of cleared land rising beyond and above it on every side. There are about twenty-five dwellings in the town, I should say, and two streets. Most of the inhabitants, I am told, left on the arrival of the rebel forces, too assured of a fight here. Rising conspicuous above every other building is the court house. It is a two story, plain, square brick building, with a dome-like roof of somewhat pretentious height and an ambitious yellow color. The Maclean House where Lieutenant General Grant and General Lee had their conference, is evidently the best private residence of the town. It is likewise built of brick, as nearly all the houses in town are, with the inevitable portico in front and rear. I shall be greatly surprised if the bricks from this building do not at some future day command as high prices as ever did fragment from the charter oak or a cane from the Mount Vernon estate.



Wilmer McLean, besides having lost many of his household furnishings to souvenir hunters, was in financial straits after the war. In an attempt to recoup some of his losses, he borrowed a substantial sum of money to underwrite the printing of thousands of copies of this lithograph. The demand never materialized and McLean went bankrupt.

Alfred R. Waud was an artist who traveled with the Army of the Potomac working first for the New York Illustrated News and later for Harpers Weekly. He did this drawing on the field at Saylor's Creek as he saw Ewell's men surrendering.

Johnston was marching up from North Carolina now, and Lee was moving to join him; and they would whip the rebels where they now were in five minutes if I would only let them go in. But I had no doubt about the good faith of Lee." Grant then asked, "Is Lee over there?" pointing up to the village. "Yes, he is in that brick house," Sheridan replied. "Well, then, we'll go over," said Grant, and all rode forward.

The troops from both sides watched intently as the group neared the McLean house, the Federals hoping against hope that at last the war was really over, yet not daring to believe it because they had thought that it was over so many times before. The Confederates, unbelieving and apprehensive, were fearful there would be humiliating marches through northern cities and years in prisons.

General Chamberlain, an interested observer of the events, described Grant: "Slouched hat without cord; common soldier's blouse, unbuttoned . . . high boots mud-splashed to the top, trousers tucked inside; no sword, but sword hand deep in the pocket . . . taking no notice of anything, all his faculties gathered into intense thought." And what could have been his thoughts? He later admitted that his feelings "were sad and depressed. I felt like anything rather than rejoicing at the downfall of a foe who had fought so long and valiantly." After graduating from the Military Academy in 1843, both had served in the Mexican War; but Grant had been a captain while Lee had been a colonel. After the war he had been stationed in lonely outposts in California and Oregon where the monotony and boredom became unbearable. Longing for his family, he took to drinking heavily and then resigned his commission in 1854. After that, in Missouri and Illinois, he had tried various ways of making a living from farming to selling real estate to clerking in a store, without much success. With the advent of war he had been commissioned a colonel in an Illinois regiment and promotions came fast, although not easily or without controversy. After his victory at Shiloh, in 1862, jealous and ambitious superior officers had contrived to have him removed from his command, but the President overruled them. Then in March 1864 Lincoln had called him east and promoted him to lieutenant general and made him commander of the Federal

Grant's Thoughts

armies. And now he had come to Appomattox Court House.

“When I went into the house I found General Lee,” Grant wrote later. “We greeted each other, and after shaking hands took our seats.” Grant then invited most of his staff who were present to enter. “We walked in softly,” remembered Colonel Porter, “and ranged ourselves quietly about the sides of the room, very much as people enter a sick-chamber when they expect to find the patient dangerously ill. Some found seats on the sofa and the few chairs which constituted the furniture, but most of the party stood.” Grant and Lee then chatted amicably about their service in the Mexican War and old army times. “Our conversation grew so pleasant,” Grant stated, “that I almost forgot the object of our meeting.” In fact, he seemed reluctant to talk about it. Finally Lee said, “I suppose, General Grant, that the object of our present meeting is fully understood. I asked to see you to ascertain upon what terms you would receive the surrender of my army.” Grant replied that the conditions were as he had expressed them in his letter of April 8, that Lee’s “army should lay down their arms, not to take them up again during the continuance of the war unless duly and properly exchanged.” Lee said that was about what he had expected and then requested Grant to put the terms in writing so they could be recorded and acted upon.

Grant wrote rapidly. “When I put my pen to paper I did not know the first word that I should make use of in writing the terms,” he later stated. “I only knew what was in my mind, and I wished to express it clearly, so that there could be no mistaking it. As I wrote on, the thought occurred to me that the officers had their own private horses and effects, which were important to them, but of no value to us; also that it would be an unnecessary humiliation to call upon them to deliver their side arms.” When he finished writing Grant handed the paper to Lee. Putting on a pair of steel-rimmed glasses, Lee read the document carefully:

General: In accordance with the substance of my letter of the 8th inst., I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit: Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given

Grant Meets Lee

to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged, and each company or regimental commander to sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery and public property to be parked, and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by the United States authorities so long as they observe their paroles, and the laws in force where they may reside.

*Very respectfully,
U. S. Grant,
Lieutenant-General.*

The Surrender Terms

“This will have a very happy effect upon my army,” said Lee. Grant then asked him if he had any further suggestions. After a short pause, Lee replied, “There is one thing I would like to mention. The cavalymen and artillerists own their own horses in our army. I would like to understand whether these men will be permitted to retain their horses?” Grant told him the terms did not allow this as he was unaware that the private soldiers owned their own animals. However, he then stated, “I take it that most of the men in the ranks are small farmers, and as the country has been so raided by the two armies, it is doubtful whether they will be able to put in a crop to carry themselves and their families through the next winter without the aid of the horses they are now riding, and I will arrange it this way: I will not change the terms as now written, but I will instruct the officers I shall appoint to receive the paroles to let all the men who claim to own a horse or mule take the animals home with them to work their little farms.” Lee was visibly relieved and said with evident warmth, “This will have the best possible effect upon the men. It will be very gratifying and will do much toward conciliating our people.”

Lee then instructed Colonel Marshall to draft a letter of acceptance of the terms of surrender, and

Lee's Response

after making a few changes in the original draft, he signed the final:

General: I received your letter of this date containing the terms of surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia as prepared by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th inst., they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

R. E. Lee, General

Preparing to leave, Lee mentioned that he had some Federal prisoners he would send through the lines immediately as he had no provisions for them, nor indeed for his own men. Grant asked how large his present force was. Lee hesitated. "Indeed, I am not able to say," he finally replied. "My losses in killed and wounded have been exceedingly heavy, and, besides, there have been many stragglers and some deserters." He had not seen any returns for several days, as many of the companies were without officers. Grant asked if 25,000 rations would be sufficient. "I think it will be ample," Lee replied, "and it will be a great relief, I assure you." He then shook hands again with Grant, bowed to the other officers, and left with Marshall. Sheridan noted his departure: "He mounted his chunky gray horse, and lifting his hat as he passed out of the yard, rode off toward his army, his arrival there being announced to us by cheering, which, as it progressed, varying in loudness, told he was riding through the bivouac of the Army of Northern Virginia."

Lee Accepts

General Longstreet watched Lee as he came through the lines. "From force of habit a burst of salutations greeted him, but it quieted as suddenly as it arose. The road was packed by standing troops as he approached, the men with hats off, heads and hearts bowed down. As he passed they raised their heads and looked down upon him with swimming eyes. Those who could find voice said good-bye, those who could not speak and were near, passed their hands gently over the sides of Traveller." One North Carolina officer recalled that as Lee passed, "we drove our guns into the hard earth to tie our horses to, made a fire, burned our flag to keep the

Yankees from getting it, and waited for further orders and something to eat.”

It was over. “There was no theatrical display about it,” Marshall stated, “it was the simplest, plainest, and most thoroughly devoid of any attempt at effect, that you can imagine.” And a Federal regimental historian recorded: “The most stupendous of struggles was ended in the most compassionate manner. The old world had never seen a conqueror dismissing thousands whom he had beaten, to their homes and vocations bearing with them such articles as might contribute to their future well being.” All that was left now was the stacking of arms and colors, the formal surrender ceremony, and that was set for April 12, exactly four years to the day after the first firing on Fort Sumter. General Chamberlain had the honor of formally accepting the surrender.

Grant departed shortly thereafter, down the road to where his headquarters was being set up just west of the village. Reminded on the way that he had not yet notified Washington, Grant dismounted, sat down on a large stone, and wrote: “Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, Washington: General Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia this afternoon on terms proposed by myself. The accompanying additional correspondence will show the conditions fully.” By the time he reached his headquarters the word had spread through the Federal ranks. Col. Theodore Lyman, a member of Meade’s staff, described the scene at the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac: “The soldiers rushed, perfectly crazy, to the roadside, and there crowding in dense masses, shouted, screamed, yelled, threw up their hats and hopped madly up and down. The batteries were run out and began firing, the bands played, the flags waved. And there was General Meade galloping about and waving his cap with the best of them.” When Grant heard the cannon fire, however, he ordered it stopped. “The war is over,” he told his officers, “the rebels are our countrymen again, and the best sign of rejoicing after the victory will be to abstain from all demonstrations in the field.”

In this same vein the men in the ranks did not wait for the slow delivery of rations from the supply trains. Instead, “imbued with the same spirit as that of their leader, emptied their haversacks for the aid

and comfort of those whom they had so recently fought and followed. Both sides had learned to respect each other." To the starving Confederates nothing could have tasted better than the fresh beef, bacon, hardtack, coffee and sugar their comrades in arms now presented them. A young Confederate officer remembered: "Our friends, the enemy, sent us some beef and crackers and to each officer a quart of whiskey, which helped to pass the time." Soon the stragglers started drifting in to partake of the feast, and all seemed relieved and happy to learn they could go home.

In the meantime, chaos reigned in the McLean parlor as "the relic hunters charged down upon the manor-house and made various attempts to jump Mr. McLean's claims to his own furniture," Colonel Porter reported. "Bargains were at once struck for all the articles in the room, and it is even said that some mementos were carried off for which no coin of the realm was ever exchanged." Cadwallader, who was present, wrote a more graphic description: "Cane bottomed chairs were ruthlessly cut to pieces; the cane splits broken into pieces a few inches long, and parceled out among those who swarmed around. Haircloth upholstery was cut from chairs, and sofas was also cut into strips and patches and carried away."

A gentle intermittent rain was falling the next morning. Soon the redbud and dogwood would bloom, the wild honeysuckle would blossom. The air was soft in Virginia in April, and the land seemed to have a smoothness and gentleness about it, a timeless quality.

Grant and his staff, preceded by a bugler and an officer carrying a white flag, rode out to the western edge of the village for a last meeting with Lee. The two commanders met on a small knoll overlooking the Appomattox River, out of hearing distance from the others. "Meade and staff, Sheridan and staff, Ord and staff, and a large concourse of general officers were ranged in semi-circular line in the background," Cadwallader noted, "presenting a tableau not often witnessed. Back of us lay the Federal troops compactly massed, and many of them in view. In front of us across a ravine which separated the two armies, lay the shattered remnants of Lee's grand army of invasion, which had carried conster-

Reaction to Surrender

nation to the north until Antietam and Gettysburg had driven them from our borders.”

Grant described the meeting: “We had there between the lines, sitting on horseback, a very pleasant conversation of over half an hour, in the course of which Lee said to me that the South was a big country and that we might have to march over it three or four times before the war entirely ended, but that we would now be able to do it as they could no longer resist us. He expressed it as his earnest hope, however, that we would not be called upon to cause more loss and sacrifice of life; but he could not foretell the result. I then suggested to General Lee that there was not a man in the Confederacy whose influence with the soldiery and the whole people was as great as his, and that if he would now advise the surrender of all the armies I had no doubt his advice would be followed with alacrity. But Lee said, that he could not do that without consulting the President first. I knew there was no use to urge him to do anything against his ideas of what was right.” Grant then requested Lee’s permission for some of his officers to go into the Confederate camp to find old friends, old classmates. “They went over, had a very pleasant time with their old friends, and brought some of them back with them when they returned.” That same day Grant broke up his field headquarters west of the village and left for Washington.

Riding back to his headquarters Lee was surprised when a Federal party, led by General Meade, rode up to him. Meade raised his hat in salutation as Lee recognized his old acquaintance. “But what are you doing with all that gray in your beard?” Lee asked. Meade smiled and replied, “You have to answer for most of it.” After a pleasant chat, Lee returned to his tent and directed the writing of his last order to his soldiers: “You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed; and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you His blessing and protection.” And to a friend he wrote, “I believe it to be the duty of every one to unite in the restoration of the country, and the reestablishment of peace and harmony. . . .” Although he did not take part in the surrender ceremony, which would take place two days later, Lee did not leave for Richmond until it was over.

The Ceremony of Surrender

That same morning the six officers appointed by Grant and Lee to arrange the details of the surrender met in the Clover Hill Tavern. But, according to General Gibbon, it “was a bare and cheerless place and at my suggestion we adjourned to the room in the McLean house where Generals Grant and Lee had held their conference.” Here the final agreement for the surrender was signed at 8:30 that night.

Printing presses were set up in the tavern to turn out the thousands of parole passes needed, but before the task could be completed the presses broke down and the operation was moved to Lynchburg.

April 12 dawned gray and depressing, a damp chill in the air. Federal soldiers lined both sides of the old stage road from the western edge of the village to a point near the river. Then came the Confederates marching between the lines to lay down their arms for the last time, led by General Gordon on a magnificent black horse. “Before us in proud humiliation stood the embodiment of manhood,” General Chamberlain wrote, “men whom neither toils and sufferings, nor the fact of death, nor disaster, nor hopelessness could bend from their resolve; standing before us now thin, worn, and famished, but erect, and with eyes looking level into ours, waking memories that bound us together as no other bond; was not such manhood to be welcomed back into a Union so tested and assured?” Out of respect for the former foe, Chamberlain ordered his men to present arms. Then, wrote Chamberlain, “Gordon at the head of the column, riding with heavy spirit and downcast face, catches the sound of shifting arms, looks up, and taking the meaning, wheels superbly, making with himself and his horse one uplifted figure, with profound salutation as he drops the point of his sword to the boot toe; then facing his own command, gives word for his successive brigades to pass us with the same position of the manual—honor answering honor. On our part not a sound of trumpet more, nor roll of drum; not a cheer, nor word nor whisper of vain-glorying, nor motion of man standing again at the order, but an awed stillness rather, and breath-holding, as if it were the passing of the dead!”

“The charges were now withdrawn from the guns,” Colonel Porter wrote, “the camp-fires were left to smolder in their ashes, the flags were tenderly furled—those historic banners, battle-stained, bul-

let-riddled, many of them but remnants of their former selves, with scarcely enough left of them on which to imprint the names of the battles they had seen—and the Army of the Union and the Army of Northern Virginia turned their backs upon each other for the first time in four long, bloody years.”

That afternoon General Lee left for Richmond. It was the fourth anniversary of the firing on Fort Sumter that had precipitated the war. Now Confederate arms stood stacked in the mud as the printing presses ground out 28,231 individual parole passes.

Two days later President Lincoln went to Ford’s Theater in Washington to see the popular play “Our American Cousin.” There the assassin’s bullet mortally wounded the man who had struggled so hard for union and peace.

On April 26, near Durham, North Carolina, General Johnston surrendered to General Sherman, and by May 26 the remaining isolated forces in the trans-Mississippi west had laid down their arms. The most costly war in American history was over. The Union was preserved.

Guide and Adviser



From Battlefield to Park

When you visit Appomattox Court House you see the site of an important episode in American history. And you also get to see how the people of this village, who lived rather ordinary lives, went about their daily chores.

When the opposing armies left Appomattox Court House, the village settled back into obscurity, apparently forgotten in the rush to mark battlefields, large and small of the late war. In 1889, a group of Union veterans, organized as the Appomattox Land Company, planned to develop the area, but these plans were soon shattered. The McLean House was bought with the intention of moving it, and in 1892 the courthouse burned to the ground. The village's future had gone up in smoke.

In the next 40 years only a Congressional resolution in 1895 and the dedication of the North Carolina monument in 1905 disturbed the stillness. On June 18, 1930, Congress passed a bill providing for the building of a monument on the old courthouse grounds to memorialize the surrender. In July 1933 this responsibility was transferred to the National Park Service, which took the opportunity to suggest restoring the whole village. The idea was enthusiastically received locally and soon won national support. The program was carried to Congress and on August 3, 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed a bill creating Appomattox Court House National Monument. (On April 6, 1954, the designation was changed to Historical Park.)

The Resettlement Administration began purchasing land, and on April 10, 1940, the park was proclaimed established. Work on the buildings started, but it was interrupted by war.

After World War II, the work of restoration and reconstruction was revived and slowly the buildings were opened. Today little work remains to be done on the village, and, with the exception of those buildings that have not been reconstructed, the village looks very much as it did on the fateful day when Grant and Lee met in the first step of reuniting the United States.





Visiting the Village Today

Today Appomattox Court House National Historical Park represents faithfully the appearance of the village on the day in April 1865 when Lee and Grant met and the Civil War came to a close. Some structures that were standing then are now gone, victims of time and neglect, but all buildings that figured prominently in the events of the surrender have either been restored or been reconstructed. Their locations are noted on the map on pages 88-89.

The park is located in south central Virginia between Richmond and Lynchburg on Va. 24 just northeast of the town of Appomattox. Access is by private car and bus. The nearest major airport is in Richmond. Lynchburg and Richmond are the nearest rail passenger stops. There are motels in Appomattox and a campground at Holliday Lake State Park, northeast of the park off Va. 24. The Appomattox Chamber of Commerce, Appomattox, Virginia 24522, can provide you with more information about the community. The park is open every day of the year except December 25. From April 1 to October 31 there is a charge of \$1 per car. People under 16 and over 62 are admitted free. Golden Eagle and Golden Age cards are accepted.

Begin your visit to the village at the visitor center in the reconstructed courthouse building. The exterior is faithful to the appearance of the original building, but the interior is greatly altered. On the first floor, uniformed personnel can answer your questions

and tell you of any special programs, activities, or demonstrations that may be going on. Upstairs you will find exhibits that relate to the historic events. Two slide shows, each 15 minutes long, are shown in the auditorium upstairs. The first is a straightforward account of the events of April 2-12, 1865. The other, entitled "Honor Answers Honor," is based on first-person accounts of the formal surrender ceremonies.

The town of Appomattox is five kilometers (three miles) to the southwest at the junction of Va. 24 and U.S. 460. In the middle of the town you can see the courthouse that was built after the one at Appomattox Court House burned in 1892. The combination of the new courthouse and the railroad ensured the future of Appomattox and the decay of Appomattox Court House.

Outside the village are several other sites you may wish to see while you are at the park. Northeast of the village is the site of Lee's headquarters that last night where he pondered his decision. From the parking lot off Va. 24, a 20-minute walk will take you to the site. West of the village, also off Va. 24, is the site of Grant's headquarters for the night of April 9, 1865. The North Carolina monument, just east of Grant's headquarters, is the only state monument in the park. A small cemetery just west of the village contains the graves of 18 Confederates and one Union soldier who were killed in the fighting at Appomattox. The cemetery is maintained by the United Daughters of the Confeder-

acy. If you have time you may wish to walk the hiking trail that connects all these locations.

On the next few pages is a guide to the buildings of the village. Any questions that may arise during your visit can be answered by the staff, who are veritable storehouses of information about the historic events and the history of the village. Enjoy yourself, at any season, as you discover this quiet, peaceful, and special place.

The Courthouse

Appomattox County was established in 1845, and the original courthouse was built the next year. In 1892 fire destroyed the building, and the citizens of the county voted to move the county seat to Appomattox Station, now Appomattox, a five-minute drive southwest. The courthouse played no role in the surrender, for it was closed that day, Palm Sunday. The two-story, brick building was reconstructed in 1963–64 and is presently used as the park's visitor center.



Meeks' Store

The store was built in 1852 by John Plunkett and was bought in the early 1860s by Francis Meeks who served also as the local postmaster and druggist. Meeks' son, who served with the Confederate Army, died of typhoid during the war and was buried in the village. In later years, Rev. James Rawlings, a Presbyterian minister, bought the store and turned it into his home. When he left, he presented the frame structure to the Presbyterian Church for use as a manse. During its life as a store, this

was one of the social centers of village life. Here neighbors met and discussed politics, the latest news, and exchanged bits of gossip. Today the store looks much like it did in those times. Frequently park interpreters are on hand to tell you about those days and to give you a feel for the atmosphere of a country store more than a century ago. This building is a restoration.



Woodson's Law Office

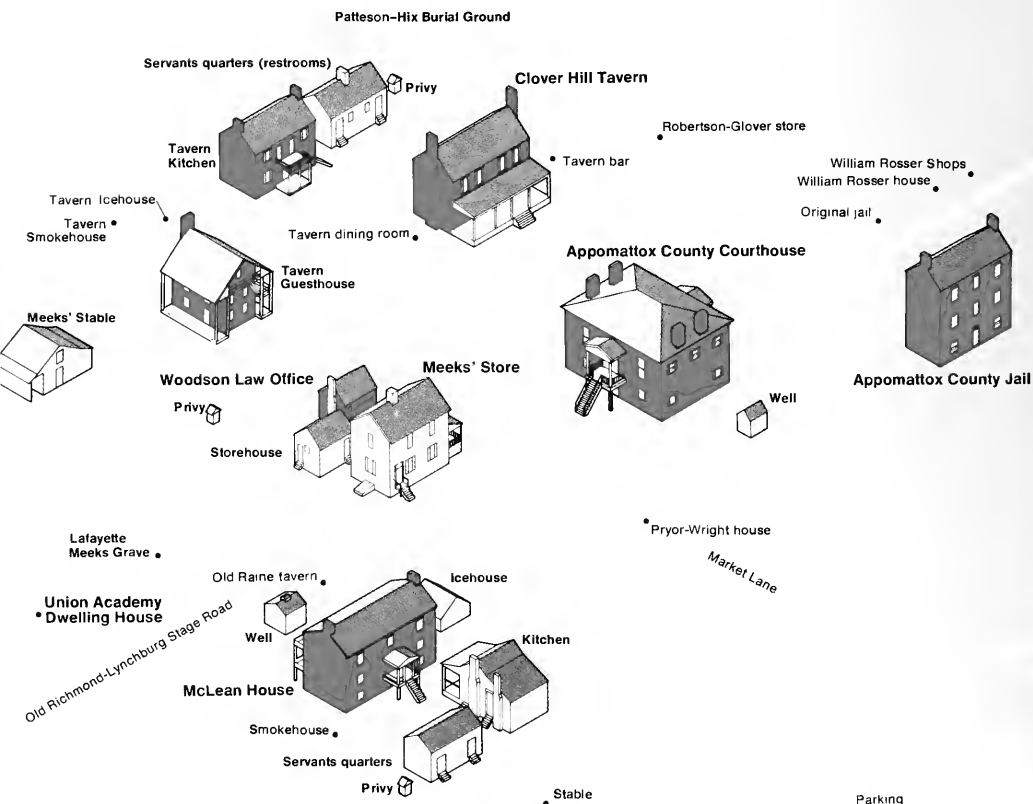
This one-room, frame building may have been here as early as 1851. In any case, John W. Woodson, who was one of several lawyers working in Appomattox Court House, purchased it in 1856 and practiced law here until his death, July 1, 1864, of typhoid. The office is plainly furnished and is typical of the country lawyers' offices to be found in Virginia's county seats of that period. This building is a restoration.



Appomattox Court House National Historical Park

The roads shown on this map, with the exception of the parking lot, are closed to all vehicles. The historic roads are for pedestrians only.

- 1865 structure site



Lee-Grant meeting,
April 10, 1865

Old Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road

SURRENDER
TRIANGLE

Main Street

Willis Inge cabin



Stable

Peers House



Kelly House

Well

Prince Edward Court House Road

Layne house



Isbell House



Stable

Bocock Lane



Kitchen



Smokehouse

Back Lane



Marlah Wright House

The Surrender Scene in Neglect

When the two armies left Apomattox Court House the McLean family found that almost all the furniture in their parlor had been carried off by souvenir hunters and that very little of it had been paid for. Four years later they sold their home to a Mr. Pascoe and moved to Alexandria. Pascoe sold the house three years later. Eventually the place was sold in 1891 to M. E. Dunlap of Niagara Falls, New York. Dunlap

tried to raise money to move the house to Chicago for the World's Columbian Exposition. When this venture failed, Dunlap decided to move the house to Washington, D.C., where it would be on permanent display. In 1893, preparatory to this move, the house was dismantled. Money for moving and reassembling the house, however, never materialized and the bricks and wood were never moved, as this photo-

graph shows. By the time the park was established in 1940, time and weather had left only a pile of rotten wood and crumbly bricks. The reconstructed house, based on extensive research, was dedicated April 16, 1950, with U.S. Grant III and Robert E. Lee IV as guests of honor.



McLean House

The house was built in 1848 by Charles Raine, a member of a leading county family. In 1863 Wilmer McLean bought the house and grounds from Raine's estate and his family moved in. The three-story brick house has a parlor and master bedroom on the first floor, two children's bedrooms on the second and a warming kitchen and dining room on the ground floor.

The present structure is a reconstruction. From the backyard (right, top) you can see the proximity of the kitchen to the house. The furnishings in the house are typical of the McLean's own possessions but none are believed to be the originals. Those in the master bedroom (right, middle) are bulky, large pieces of the early Victorian period. Many of the contents of the parlor are copies of the originals. Compare this scene today to the painting on pages 58–59, and in the visitor center that was done by Louis Guillaume.

Besides the main house, various other structures, each with a specific function, are located on the property. Behind the house were the quarters of the house servants, family slaves. A downstairs room (right, bottom) served as the bedroom. Meals were prepared in the log kitchen, beside the quarters. Both buildings are reconstructions.

The well, inside the gazebo in front of the house, originally was 12 meters (40 feet) deep and, according to old-timers, it was good even in the dry season. This is a reconstruction. In the ice house, just east of the residence, ice was stored and kept for use during the hot months. The log structure is a reconstruction.



Clover Hill and Appomattox Court House

The tavern in this picture, which dates from the 1900s, was built in the early years of the 19th century and came to be the focus of a small collection of homes, stores, and shops that in mid-century were transformed from the settlement of Clover Hill to the village of Appomattox Court House. The new county of Appomattox had a population of about 9,300, of whom

4,200 were white, 4,900 were slaves, and 200 were free blacks. The county was predominantly rural and agricultural in character, and through the years, even up to today, has remained a region of moderate-size farms. At one point in the 1850s several local boosters hoped for riches from the new Southside Railroad and the James River and Kanawha Canal, but no

economic boom developed.

For Appomattox Court House itself the establishment of the county brought only a little new commercial activity. The town probably never contained more than 30 families—perhaps 120 persons—black and white. And when the courthouse burned in 1892 and the county seat was moved, decay set in and



the 1900s was well under way, as this picture shows. In the end, the abandonment and decay saved the town, for when North and South were ready to memorialize the place where peace had begun after four years of war, the original character of the site was recoverable.



The Guesthouse: A Study in Restoration

When the park was established in 1940 most of the historic structures still extant were in varying states of disrepair. The work on the tavern guesthouse is typical of

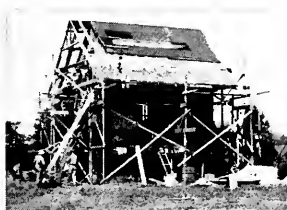


that done to the other structures and illustrates the restoration process. First, even before archeological and historical research, the building had to be stabilized to prevent further deterioration, as the pictures show.



The walls were shored up with supports, cracks were filled, and missing bricks and mortar were replaced. A weather-tight temporary roof was put on to prevent further weather damage. In most instances this work did not represent historic methods and

was done with the knowledge that it might have to be done over as the results of research became apparent. Once the structure was stabilized, research into the historical record could begin. Many questions would have to be answered: Was the building painted? If so, what color? What type of roof? What kind of windows? Were there shutters? What kind of door did the guesthouse have? What special local materials or methods were used? And



many more such questions had to be answered.

Old photographs, drawings, descriptions, interviews with longtime residents, and other sources provided clues to the answers. When a sufficient body of information was assembled, the painstaking work of duplicating the original building could begin. The last picture shows the roof, of wooden shingles, being put on. Slowly but surely the work would go on until the fully restored structure would be finished. The result? See the bottom photograph to the right.

Clover Hill Tavern

The brick tavern dates from 1819 when it was built by Alexander Patteson to serve travelers and stage lines on the Richmond-Lynchburg Stage Road. The old photograph on pages 92–93 shows the old frame barroom on the southeast corner. Another structure that served as the dining room at the west end is now gone. In the two downstairs rooms of the restored tavern you can see where many of the paroles were printed (right, middle) for the surrendered Confederates. The other room contains a model of the village that includes all the buildings that were standing during and immediately after the surrender. It was made by Joseph Burn from 1888 to 1890.

Directly behind the tavern can be found the servants' quarters. Here the slaves, owned by the tavern keeper, lived. Their jobs included cooking and cleaning and perhaps tending a vegetable garden. The quarters now contain restrooms equipped for the handicapped. The building is a reconstruction.



The Guesthouse

The second floor of this guesthouse, built about 1819, was used for travelers when the tavern was full. The rooms were reached by the outside stairs. The first floor was used largely for storage. Compare this present-day photograph to those of the restoration work through the years on the opposite page.



Kitchen

The tavern kitchen, which was built about 1819, was convenient to the dining room that originally stood just ahead of it at the west end of the main building. Its upstairs rooms accommodated travelers for whom there was no room in the tavern or guest-house. Today the kitchen houses a sales facility where you may buy books and souvenirs relating to the historic events at Appomattox Court House. The building is a restoration.



Jail

The first county jail was directly across the road from the present building, which was begun about 1860 but was not finished until 1870, after the Civil War. From that time until the county seat was moved in 1892 it indeed was used as the jail. The sheriff's office and quarters were on the first floor and the cells were on the top two. From that time until 1940, the jail served as the polling station for the Clover Hill magisterial district. The brick building is a restoration.



Kelly House

This frame house was probably built between 1845 and 1860. At any rate it was standing at the time of the surrender. The mother of Lorenzo Kelly, carpenter and handyman, may have watched the scene, for she was living here at the time. After the war John Robinson, a black shoemaker, and his wife lived here. They are buried in a small graveyard behind the house. The house is restored and partially furnished.



Isbell House

The house was built by Thomas Salem Bocock and Henry Flood Bocock in 1849-50. Thomas was speaker of the Confederate House and Henry was clerk of the court for Appomattox County from 1845 to 1860. A third brother, Willis, was Virginia attorney general in 1853. Lewis Isbell, who was commonwealth's attorney for Appomattox County during the Civil War, lived in this house at the time of the surrender. The house, which is a restoration, and grounds are not open to the public.



Peers House

Just when this frame house was built is unknown, but it was here in 1855, when, records show, it was sold by a Mr. McDearmon to William Abbitt. A year later he sold it to D. A. Plunkett. At the time of Plunkett's death in 1870, the house was bought by George Peers at public auction. Peers, who was clerk of the court for Appomattox County for 40 years, lived here at the time of the surrender. The house is a restoration and is not open to the public.





Mariah Wright House



The frame house was most likely built in the early to mid-1820s. Little is known of Mariah Wright except that she was a widow. On the morning of April 9, 1865, General Chamberlain's infantry was advancing on the Confederates through town and his right flank had reached the Wright House when a flag of truce came out from their lines. The house is a restoration and the interior is unfinished.

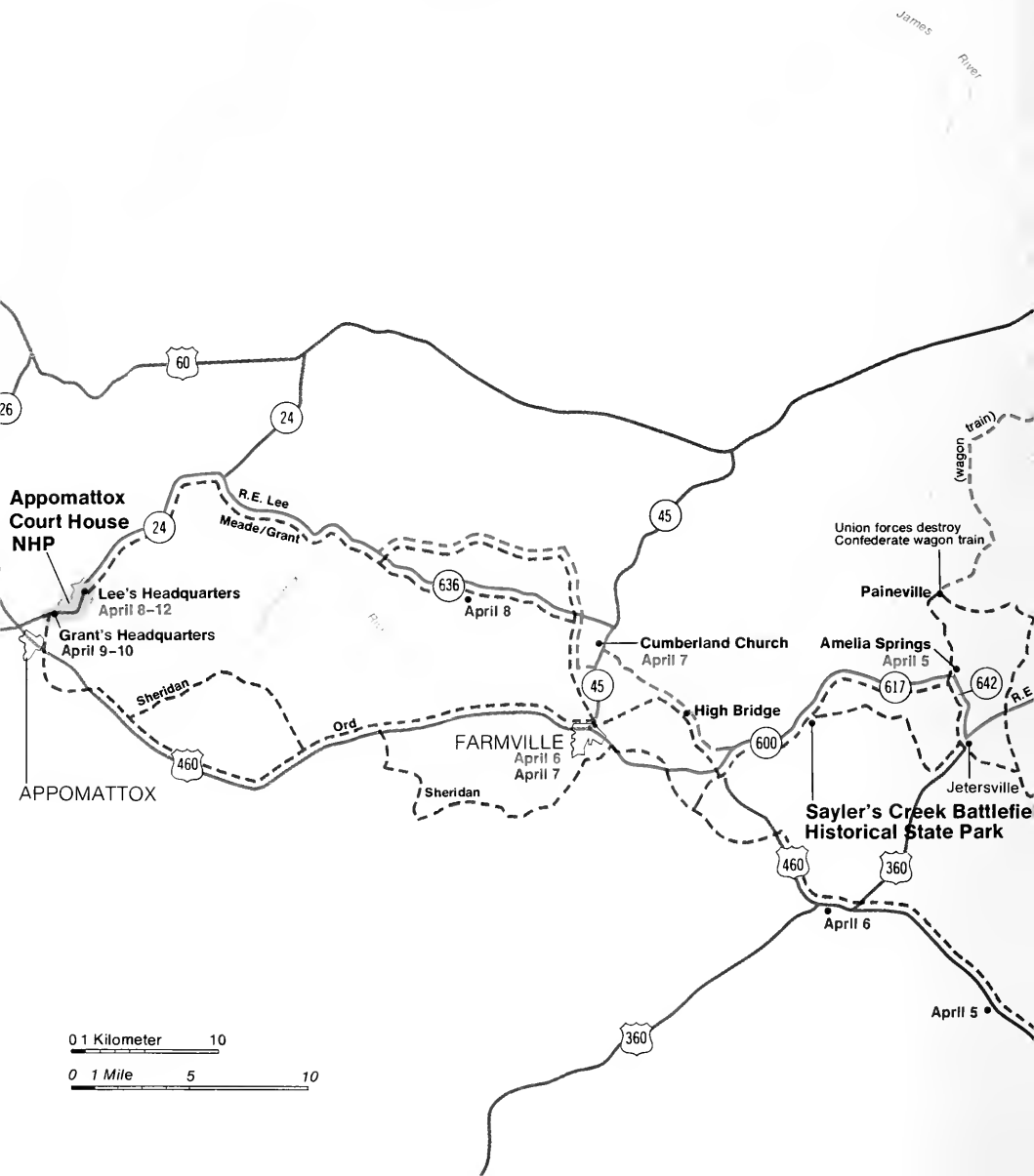


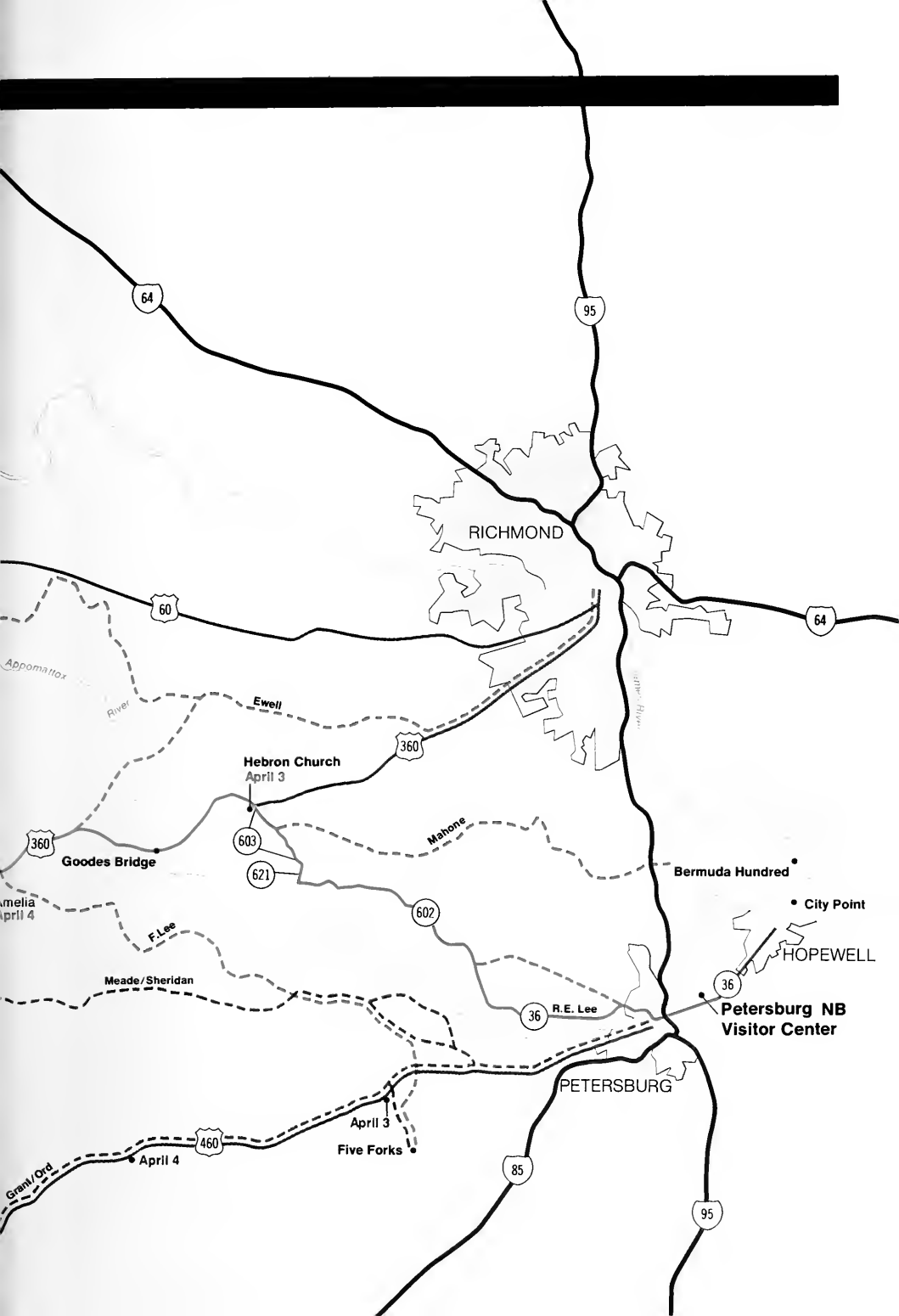
The Route of Lee's Retreat

Note that the route marked in red, besides being the route of Lee's retreat, is also the modern alignment of roads that you will use in making this journey. The dates in red and blue show where Lee and Grant, respectively, spent the night. The text on the next two pages gives you the directions and information you will need for the trip.

 Route of Lee's retreat
 Confederate line of march

 Union line of march
 Grant Commander of a line of march





Following Lee's Retreat

As a sidetrip, you might like to follow the route Lee took in his retreat from Petersburg to Appomattox. Most of the roads that Lee and his army followed still exist today. In a few places modern, four-lane highways have been laid down, but to a large degree the narrow, sinuous roads the Army of Northern Virginia traveled from Petersburg to Appomattox Court House are today as they were then. The countryside, once you reach the western part of Chesterfield County, has changed little with the passage of time. Some fields have become forests and some forests have become fields, but by and large the face of the land is similar. The land also is still sparsely settled; in fact most Southside Virginia counties have only a few more people than they did in 1860. Time seems to have stood still here, so if you drive this route in early spring you have the eerie feeling of sharing an experience that ended well more than a century ago. Regardless of the time of year you make the trip, however, you'll come away with an appreciation of the countryside that the armies had to contend with and you will find yourself gripped by the frantic race these two armies ran.

The following narrative accompanies the map on the previous two pages and is designed to do two things: give you an account of what happened on each day of the retreat and provide you with directions for following the route. Before beginning, however, you need to know how Virginia state highways are marked. The state road system contains primary and sec-

ondary routes. The primary roads are shown as heart-shaped shields and given compass directions such as Va. 7 east. The secondary routes are circles on a black, square background. At intersections, the secondary routes, only, are indicated by the numbers appearing in small rectangles with arrows pointing the direction to go. Occasionally, too, you will find signs marked "Route of Lee's Retreat," erected by the State of Virginia. So, though the route is mainly on country roads you should have no trouble finding your way.

Before you begin your trip along the retreat route you may wish to visit a few locations in the Richmond-Petersburg area that will give you a better understanding of the events of April 2-9, 1865.

Richmond National Battlefield Park, besides preserving sites linked to the series of 1862 battles before Richmond, also maintains and interprets several of the battlefields of the 1864 campaign. The visitor center at 3215 East Broad Street (U.S. 60 east), has exhibits and an audiovisual program that help orient you to the historic events. National Park Service employees can answer your questions. Schedules of living history programs and other special events throughout the year are available. The people at the main visitor center can give you directions for getting to the site of Cold Harbor where a smaller visitor center is located.

The trenches at Cold Harbor are well-preserved and are very fine examples of Civil

War field fortifications. A battlefield auto tour has been laid out so that you may follow it at your own pace.

Petersburg National Battlefield contains most of the siege lines that eventually cut off the eastern and southern approaches to the city. The visitor center for the park is located just east of the Petersburg city limits with an entrance off Va. 36. In the War Room of the visitor center, 15-minute talks that explain the opposing strategies are given on the hour. A self-guiding auto tour follows a portion of the battlefield. Along the way you can stop and see a Dictator - type 17,000-pound Union mortar that hurled heavy explosive shells into the city of Petersburg, more than 4 kilometers (2½ miles) away; Fort Stedman, a Union stronghold that was the objective of Lee's last offensive in March 1865; and the Crater, the site of a disastrous Union attempt to undermine the Confederate lines. The remainder of the entire siege line and the Confederate defense line are marked as well. Artillery demonstrations are frequently given during the summer.

Of interest also may be a sidetrip to Five Forks battlefield where the Union victory made the Confederate position in Petersburg untenable. Five Forks is 34 kilometers (21 miles) from the park visitor center. It can be reached via Va. 36 west, U.S. 1 south, U.S. 460 west, and Route 627. All the land at the site of Five Forks battlefield is in private ownership, so we ask that you carefully respect the property owners' rights.

The best place to begin your trip is at the Petersburg National Battlefield Visitor Center. From this point to Appomattox Court House National Historical Park is 181 kilometers (112 miles). Though this distance could normally be covered in a little more than two hours, the combination of the back roads and stopping to read the state historical markers will mean that the trip could easily take four or five hours.

April 2, 1865

The previous day's battle at Five Forks has forced Lee to begin the withdrawal of his army from Petersburg and begin the trek west with the hope of meeting up with Joe Johnston in North Carolina. Other Confederate forces pull out of the Richmond area to join Lee.

Directions: From the Petersburg National Battlefield Visitor Center follow Va. 36 west through Petersburg to the crossing of the Appomattox.

April 3, 1865

The first full day of the retreat finds the army moving well along with every hope that they will reach **Amelia** and the needed supplies. Lee spends the night near **Hebron Church**. Near here are the ruins of Clover Hill Plantation where Lee was the dinner guest of Judge Cox.

Directions: Continue on Va. 36; note that a short while after leaving Matoaca the road number changes to Route 602. Next a right onto Route 621 and left on Route 603. Join U.S. 360 near the location of Hebron Church.

April 4, 1865

Amelia is reached but there are no supplies and a day is spent searching for food and

forage locally. Units from Richmond have now joined the main army. Note the old courthouse green. It is little changed since 1865.

Directions: U.S. 360 west to U.S. 360 business to Amelia.

April 5, 1865

Continuing west Lee runs into Union infantry at **Jetersville** and veers off toward **Farmville** where he has learned that supplies definitely are waiting.

Directions: U.S. 360 business to U.S. 360 west to Route 642 to the location of Amelia Springs at 642's junction with Route 617.

April 6, 1865

Lee continues to Farmville but the Union advance catches up with the rear of his army at **Sayler's Creek** and 6,000 are captured. The rest secure supplies in Farmville. Sayler's Creek Battlefield Historical State Park has an interpretive auto route along Route 617.

Directions: Continue on Route 617 to Route 600. Note that this junction is very confusing; you will make one left and two rights in a very short distance. Follow 600 to U.S. 460 west and then U.S. 460 business into Farmville.

April 7, 1865

Lee leaves **Farmville**, tries to burn the bridges over the Appomattox, but Grant's men are close enough to put the fires out. Near **Cumberland Church** Lee receives Grant's first message asking him to surrender.

Directions: From Farmville take Va. 45 north.

April 8, 1865

Lee heads west again for supplies that are waiting at Appomattox Station.

Directions: Va. 45 to Route 636 to Va. 24 south.

April 9, 1865

In the vicinity of **Appomattox Court House**, Lee finds that the Federals are blocking his way and also are pushing from behind. He goes to meet Grant and surrenders.

Directions: Follow Va. 24 to Appomattox Court House National Historical Park.

7th Apr 63

Dear

I have rec^d your note
of this date. I thought not inter-
fering the opinion you express
of the hopefulness of further resis-
tance on the part of the Army
of the U. S. I reciprocate your
desire to avoid useless effusion
of blood, & therefore before consid-
ering your proposition, ask
the terms you will offer in
consideration of its acceptance.

Very respectfully,
John A. Andrew

P. S.
L. A.
G. A.

Attest
John A. Andrew
Secretary of the U. S. State

Documents of the Surrender

Lee-Grant Correspondence
April 7, 1865 Grant to Lee

General: The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the C.S. Army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

U. S. Grant,
Lieutenant-General

April 7, 1865 Lee to Grant
The detail at left is from Lee's note to Grant, April 7, 1865.

General: I have received your note of this date. Though not entertaining the opinion you express on the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, and therefore, before considering your proposition, ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender.

R. E. Lee,
General

April 8, 1865 Grant to Lee

General: Your note of last evening, in reply to mine of same date, asking the condition on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, is just received. In reply I would say that peace being my great desire, there is but one condition I would insist upon, namely, that the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms again against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged. I will meet you, or will designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

U. S. Grant
Lieutenant-General

April 8, 1865 Lee to Grant

General: I received at a late hour your note of to-day. In mine of yesterday I did not intend to propose the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender of this army, but as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desire to know whether your proposals would lead to that end. I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia, but as far as your proposal may affect the C.S. forces under my command, and tend to the restoration of peace, I should be pleased to meet you at 10 a.m. to-morrow, on the old stage road to Richmond, between the picket-lines of the two armies.

R. E. Lee,
General

April 9, 1865 Grant to Lee

General: Your note of yesterday is received. As I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace; the meeting proposed for 10 a.m. to-day could lead to no good. I will state, however, general, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself, and the whole North entertains the same feeling. The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed. Seriously hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
U.S. Grant,
Lieutenant-General

April 9, 1865 Lee to Grant

General: I received your note of this morning on the picket-line, whither I had come to meet you and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposal of yesterday with reference to the surrender of this army. I now ask an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose.

R. E. Lee,
General

Surrender Terms
Head Quarters Armies of
the United States
Appomattox C.H., Va.
April 9th, 1865

General: In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th inst., I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of N. Va. on the following terms, to wit:

Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged, and each company or regimental commander to sign a like parole for the men of their commands.

The arms, artillery and public property to be parked and stacked and turned over to the officer appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side arms of the officers nor their private horses or baggage. This done each officer and man will be allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they may reside.

Very Respectfully
U. S. Grant
Lt. Gen.

Lee's Acceptance
Headquarters Army N. Va.
April 9th, 1865

General: I have received your letter of this date containing the terms of surrender of the Army of Northern Va., as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those

expressed in your letter of the 8th inst., they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

Very Respectfully,
Your obt. Servt.
R. E. Lee
General

Disposition of Arms
Appomattox Court House
April 10, 1865

Agreement entered into this day in regard to the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia to the United States authorities:

1st. The troops shall march by brigades and detachments to a designated point, stack their arms, deposit their flags, sabres, pistols, etc., and from thence march to their homes under charge of their officers, superintended by their respective division and corps commanders, officers retaining their side arms, and the authorized number of private horses.

2d. All public horses and public property of all kinds to be turned over to staff officers designated by the United States authorities.

3d. Such transportation as may be agreed upon as necessary for the transportation of the private baggage of officers will be allowed to accompany the officers, to be turned over at the end of the trip to the nearest United States quartermaster, receipts being taken for the same.

4th. Couriers and mounted men of the artillery and cavalry, whose horses are their own private property, will be allowed to retain them.

5th. The surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia shall be construed to include all the forces operating with that army on the 8th instant, the date of the commencement of negotiations for surrender, except such bodies of cavalry as actually made their escape previous to the surrender and except also such pieces of artillery as were more than twenty miles from Appomattox Court House at the time of surrender on the 9th instant.

John Gibbon
Maj. Gen. Vol.

J. Longstreet
Lt. Gen.

Chas. Griffin
Bvt. Maj. Gen. U.S. Vol.

J. B. Gordon
Maj. Gen.

W. Merritt
Bvt. Maj. Gen'l.

W. N. Pendleton
Brig. Gen. and Chf. Ar'ty.

General Order #9
Hd Quarters Army of Nor. Va.
10 April 1865

After four years of arduous service marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources.

I need not tell the brave survivors of so many hard fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I have consented to this result from no distrust of them.

But feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that could compensate for the loss that would have attended the continuance of the contest, I determined to avoid the useless sacrifice of those whose past services have endeared them to their countrymen.

By the terms of the agreement, officers and men can return to their homes and remain until exchanged. You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed, and I earnestly pray that a Merciful God will extend to you His blessing and protection.

With an unceasing admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration for myself, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

R. E. Lee
Gen'l

Civil War Battlefields and Related Sites

Throughout the eastern half of the United States, the National Park Service maintains a number of the Civil War battlefields and other historic areas related to those times. These brief descriptions will give you an idea of the significance of each site. You may wish to write to the superintendent for more information before your visit.

Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site, RFD #1, Hodgenville, Kentucky 42748. Within a building made of Connecticut granite and Tennessee marble is a log cabin believed to be the one in which President Abraham Lincoln was born February 12, 1809. A large part of the park is the Lincoln's farm.

Andersonville National Historic Site, Andersonville, Georgia 31711. During the Civil War 13,000 Union prisoners of war died here. Though Andersonville was the most notorious prison, there were other such camps throughout the North and the South where men died from lack of care, inadequate facilities, and disease.

Antietam National Battlefield Site, Box 158, Sharpsburg, Maryland 21782. The battle here on September 17, 1862, was one of the crucial engagements of the Civil War. And it gave President Lincoln the opportunity for issuing the Emancipation Proclamation.

Arlington House, the Robert E. Lee Memorial, c/o George Washington Memorial Parkway, Turkey Run Park, McLean, Virginia 22101. In 1831 Robert E. Lee married Mary Custis, the only child of

G. W. P. Custis the builder of Arlington. It was here that Lee made his decision to resign from the U.S. Army. The estate was confiscated during the Civil War.

Brices Cross Roads National Battlefield Site, Natchez Trace Parkway, R. R. 1, NT-143, Tupelo, Mississippi 38801. Here Gen. S. D. Sturgis's Federals clashed with Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest's Confederates as they attempted to disrupt the flow of supplies to Sherman at Atlanta. The Confederates beat the Yankees, but the supplies kept on moving.

Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, P.O. Box 2126, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia 30742. At Chickamauga, September 19-20, 1863, the Confederates handily beat the Federal armies. A few months later, and greatly reinforced, the Union turned the tables with a victory that opened the way for Sherman's march into Georgia.

Ford's Theatre National Historic Site, 511 Tenth Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20004. Here on the night on April 14, 1865, John Wilkes Booth stepped into a box at Ford's Theatre and shot President Abraham Lincoln. The President was carried across the street to the Petersen house, now also owned by the National Park Service, where he died the next morning. Ford's Theatre contains a museum of Lincolniana.

Fort Donelson National Military Park, P.O. Box F, Dover, Tennessee 37058. In February 1862, an obscure brigadier general, Ulysses S.

Grant, steamed up the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers and captured Forts Henry and Donelson. He thus forced the Confederates to abandon Kentucky and much of Tennessee. It made Grant a hero to the North.

Fort Pulaski National Monument, P. O. Box 98, Tybee Island, Georgia 31328. Fort Pulaski's admirers claimed that this brick fort was "as strong as the Rocky Mountains." Yet the first time it came under fire, in 1862, it fell within 30 hours, the victim of the latest in gun design, the rifled cannon.

Fort Sumter National Monument, Drawer R, Sullivan's Island, South Carolina 29482. At 4:30 a.m. April 12, 1861, the bombardment of Fort Sumter by South Carolina troops began. On April 14, the fort fell and the next day President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers. The Civil War had begun.

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, P. O. Box 679, Fredericksburg, Virginia 22401. Four major battles took place in this area during the Civil War. Fredericksburg, 1862, and Chancellorsville, 1863, were Confederate victories; Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court House, 1864, were draws.

General Grant National Memorial, Manhattan Sites, National Park Service, 26 Wall Street, New York, New York 10005. This monument was dedicated in 1897 to the memory of Ulysses S. Grant, Civil War leader and 18th President of the United

States. The building contains the tombs of Grant and of his wife, Julia Dent Grant.

Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania 17325. Here the Army of Northern Virginia met the Army of the Potomac on July 1, 1863. After three days of bloody fighting, Lee, checked in what would be his last attempt to invade the North, began to withdraw his army.

Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, P. O. Box 65, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia 25425. Harpers Ferry is most famous for John Brown's raid in 1859. Seizure of the Federal armory was Brown's goal, for he intended to arm the slaves and free them. He failed, and he was captured and hanged.

Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, P. O. Box 1167, Marietta, Georgia 30061. In June 1864 the armies of William T. Sherman faced those led by Joseph Johnston in Sherman's Atlanta Campaign. The fighting was inconclusive, and Sherman moved to flank Johnston who was forced to withdraw.

Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial, Lincoln City, Indiana 47552. Here Abraham Lincoln spent his seventh through 21st years. The park contains the grave of his mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, and a farm typical of those of the very early 19th-century pioneers.

Lincoln Home National Historic Site, 526 S. Seventh St., Springfield, Illinois 62703. From 1844 to 1861, Abraham Lincoln and his family lived in this house, the only one he ever owned. When he moved here, he was a country lawyer;

when he left Springfield, he was President-elect of the United States.

Manassas National Battlefield Park, P. O. Box 1830, Manassas, Virginia 22110. On the banks of Bull Run, Confederate forces won two victories. The first, July 1861, showed the North that the South was serious and that this would be a long war. The second, August 1862, paved the way for Robert E. Lee's first invasion of the North.

Monocacy National Battlefield, c/o C&O Canal National Historical Park, Box 158, Sharpsburg, Maryland 21782. On July 9, 1864, Confederate Gen. Jubal T. Early defeated Union forces commanded by Brig. Gen. Lew Wallace. There are no federal facilities yet.

Pea Ridge National Military Park, Pea Ridge, Arkansas 72751. In the Civil War both the Union and the Confederacy strove to control Missouri because of its strategic position. The March 1862 battle here led to an overall Union victory and control of Missouri.

Petersburg National Battlefield, P.O. Box 549, Petersburg, Virginia 23803. Repeated frontal drives on Richmond all during the Civil War had failed. In the end, it was taken through its back door—Petersburg. After a nine months' siege Petersburg fell on April 2, 1865. The end of the war was in sight.

Richmond National Battlefield Park, 3215 East Broad Street, Richmond, Virginia 23223. As the capital of the Confederacy, Richmond was caught in the struggle between the North and the South for four

years. The park commemorates the Seven Days' Battles, Cold Harbor, and five lesser engagements.

Shiloh National Military Park, Shiloh, Tennessee 38376. In April 1862 Grant's Union forces were surprised by Albert Sidney Johnston's Confederates. The Federals recovered from the initial setback and won the battle but were too exhausted to exploit their victory.

Stones River National Battlefield, Route 10, Box 401, Old Nashville Highway, Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37130. The battle of Stones River from December 31, 1862, through January 2, 1863, began the Federal offensive which culminated in Sherman's march to the sea.

Tupelo National Battlefield, Natchez Trace Parkway, R. R. 1, NT-143, Tupelo, Mississippi 38801. The Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad was vital to Sherman's advance on Atlanta. And here Union forces successfully defended the rail line by beating off a Confederate attack.

Vicksburg National Military Park, P. O. Box 349, Vicksburg, Mississippi 39180. Control of the Mississippi was essential to the Union plan for winning the War. And here Union forces, led by Grant, achieved that goal. The besieged city fell July 4, 1863, the same day Lee was withdrawing from Gettysburg.

Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, 521 N. Highway 60, Republic, Missouri 65738. This was the first battle in the contest for Missouri. And though the Confederates won, their victory was so costly that nothing was gained.

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National Park Service

The National Park Service expresses its appreciation to all those persons who made the preparation and production of this handbook possible.

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Illustrations

All color photography is by William A. Bake except for three photographs by Kevin Peer, 91 middle and bottom, and 95 bottom.

The painting on pages 58-59 is in the park collection and hangs in the visitor center.

Unless otherwise credited all black and white pictures are from the files of Appomattox Court House National Historical Park.

U.S. Department of the Interior

As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering the wisest use of our land and water resources, protecting our fish and wildlife, preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places, and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The Department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to assure that their development is in the best interest of all our people. The Department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

Appomattox Court House

